

# AMERICAN AND SOVIET ECONOMY—by George Meany

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*American*

## FEDERATIONIST

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TWENTY CENTS



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*American*

# FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

AUGUST, 1958

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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## *Would You?*

It takes courage to stick your neck out. To have a belief and to stand up for that belief. To set a course and to be willing to follow it through.

But what have we brains for—if not to use them to do our own thinking? What have we feet for—if not to stand on firmly? What have we necks for—if not to stick them out to see where we are heading?

Think back. We have a union because a few men were willing to stick their necks out for industrial freedom. We gained recognition because there were hundreds more willing to stick their necks out and to face hardships in order to have better things for our children.

We have grown and prospered because thousands more were willing to stick their necks out and fight for contracts, for better wages and working conditions, for security.

What of those who stuck their necks out and lost their jobs in the course of organizing? What of those who stuck their necks out on picket lines to secure these benefits?

What we needed in the early days we need even more today. We need people who will stick their necks out for what they believe to be right; who can see a goal and head toward it, avoiding the devious pathways that lead into the morasses of compromise or the blank wall of indifference; who are not swayed by either the hisses or the plaudits of the mob.

A man with courage to stick his neck out is a man of faith—and he knows that the best way out of a difficulty is straight through.

It is pretty well agreed, I think, that never before have we so needed men and women willing to stick their necks out for what is right. But—would you?

Ralph Reiser.

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# American and Soviet Economy

## *Contrast and Comparison*

*by George Meany*

**N**OT so long ago Nikita S. Khrushchev used one of our important broadcasting companies to "promise" our grandchildren the "blessings" of what he calls "socialism." Then he promised the Soviet peoples that it won't be long before they will have as much and even more butter, milk and meat than the American people have.

But it was during the recent so-called Soviet election campaign that Khrushchev reached the summit of his boastfulness to date. Addressing a meeting in the Kalinin district of Moscow, where he was a candidate for Deputy to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Khrushchev bragged about the "progress and achievements" of the Soviet economic system, ridiculed the American way of life and sneered at those who "picture the United States as a country of prospering enterprise, as a model of bourgeois freedom, of bourgeois democracy."

On this occasion Khrushchev tried to bolster his case by taking a few sentences out of my address in March before the AFL-CIO National Conference on Unemployment. After referring to my plea for more and better housing and schools and for prompt and effective action to halt the recession with its growing unemployment, Khrushchev thundered:

"It is Socialist democracy which has liberated the Soviet people from such 'freedoms' as the right to elect their exploiter and to be jobless, the right to die of starvation or to be wage slaves of capital. No, this is

not our people's understanding of freedom.

"We see freedom as the right of people to a life worthy of man, without exploiters or exploitation, with the right to genuine political equality, the right to enjoy all the achievements of science and culture. We understand freedom as liberation of the people from the horrors of unemployment and poverty, from racial, national and social oppression."

Before examining this Khrushchev claim in relation to life as lived, especially by the workers, under Soviet communism, let me say that I have, on several occasions, criticized our national Administration for not preventing the present economic recession and for not acting promptly and vigorously to speed the return of full employment and prosperity.

Because American labor is free, it can and does tell our government officials what we want them to do and what we *don't* want them to do. American labor, like every other sector of the community, is not afraid to tell the truth—to tell it to the White House and Congress—whether it be pleasant or ugly.

We of the AFL-CIO have made and will continue to make constructive proposals for restoring our country's economic health. The very nature of our criticism and comprehensive program shows our faith in the essential soundness and prospects of our economy as against that of the Soviet. While our economy is far from perfect, we can, through our democratic



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methods, always change our working conditions and living standards for the better.

We of American labor want none of the Soviet "paradise." We reject and condemn communism on economic, no less than on moral, cultural, social and political grounds. We are against social, economic or political changes through executions, exiles and forced labor camps.

We oppose any system that would rob our people of human rights and democratic liberties and suppress and enslave any other people.

According to the Communist political prophets and economic "experts,"

our economy was supposed to have collapsed after World War I. Then, in 1929, Joseph Stalin assured his comrades that "American capitalism" had reached its apex and was going to go down and down. When World War II was over, the Kremlin rulers were sure that America was about to be hit by the biggest crisis ever. Now that we are experiencing a recession, Nikita Khrushchev treats us to the same Communist dirge.

Our free American economy, even in its momentary recession, is healthier and does more for the American people than the Communist economy does for the Soviet peoples. Our free economy has its ups and downs. But we have always come up stronger after every downward swing.

In our country we are not building an economy geared to military aggression, geared to grinding down the standards of living of the workers and denying them the right to share in the benefits of technological progress. In our country we do not permit the burdens of military defense—forced upon us by the threat of Soviet aggression—to depress the living standards of the people.

**K**HRUSHCHEV knows that, even during an economic recession in the United States, the living standards of the American workers are much higher than those of the Soviet workers. The vast majority of Soviet workers get 300 to 800 rubles a month. This means—at the most generous official rate of exchange—a monthly wage running from \$75 to \$200.

Even under our present inadequate unemployment benefits, the average unemployed American worker gets more and *lives better* than do many millions of employed workers in the Soviet "paradise." In fact, many an American worker gets more pay when he is *not* working than a Soviet worker gets when he *is* working.

If conditions in Russia are as good as Khrushchev boasts, why does the Kremlin find it necessary to close its frontiers and, at gunpoint, prevent Soviet subjects from freely going to other countries?

If things are so good in the Soviet Empire, why have some 1,500 people been fleeing every week from Communist East Germany to the German Federal Republic? Why have more than 10 per cent of the entire popula-

lation of East Germany—2,000,000 of them—chosen since the end of the war to become refugees, escapees?

### Industrial Progress —Facts and Fancies

Soviet propagandists have sought to give the impression that totalitarian communism has created all the foundations of Russian modern industry and has, because of its own specific features, attained a higher rate of industrial progress than that achieved by any other economic system. Let us examine this claim.

Soviet industry has made considerable progress when measured in overall terms. But all of this progress cannot be attributed to Communist economy as such. The Communist rulers did not start Soviet economic development from scratch, as it were. Before the Bolsheviks seized power, Czarist Russia was already the sixth industrial country. Some of its industrial plants, like the Putilov works, were among the most modern in their days.

Secondly, from 1919 to 1939, the Western powers—particularly Britain, France, Germany and the United States—provided the U.S.S.R. with more than eight billion dollars' worth of heavy industrial machinery. During World War II, the United States and its democratic allies provided the Soviet Union with more than fifteen billion dollars of industrial machinery

and products to help overcome the ravages of Nazi invasion.

And no one should overlook the fact that the Kremlin plundered Manchuria, the captive peoples and occupied countries in Europe (Austria) in order to utilize the loot for the expansion of Soviet economy. In the forty years of its existence the Soviet regime has borrowed much from Western, so-called capitalist technology. This was confirmed by G. K. Orjonikidze, the People's Commissar for Heavy Industry, in his report to the seventeenth congress of the Soviet Communist Party (1934) when, in speaking of the fine technical equipment the U.S.S.R. possessed, he admitted:

"Where did we obtain it? We bought from the Americans, the Germans, the French and the British the most improved machinery, the latest achievements of world technique, and we have provided our plants with them."

The Communist propagandists have done much boasting about the rate of Soviet economic progress. Their claims need much scrutiny. It is confusing to compare the rates of economic growth in various countries without considering the respective stages of economic development. The rates of economic progress attained by various countries should be calculated for similar or comparable stages in their economic development. Other-



People feel it is worthwhile to risk their lives to flee to the West. Such proof of the vile conditions under Soviet rule is provided daily.



The Soviet worker gets very little. Many an American worker gets more when not at work than Soviet man is given for a long week of hard toil.

wise the comparison can lead only to distortion or caricature.

The period of Soviet economic development during the last forty years is comparable to the period of 1880-1920 in America's economy. During this period the American economy grew at least as rapidly as does the present-day Soviet economy. The current stage of Soviet economic development is also comparable to the Canadian economy since 1917. Today the Canadian economy has a greater rate of progress and shows much more balance than does the Soviet economy.

**S**OViet economic progress has entailed considerable imbalance. And there are signs of a greater slowing down of the rate of production increase than the Soviet planners expected.

According to the study made by the Joint Economic Committee of the United States Congress, the Soviets can narrow the present absolute gap between their industrial capacity and ours and attain about half our country's output by 1965 only if their yearly average growth will be 16 per cent and ours will be only 3.5 per cent. Prior to the current recession, the gap had actually widened in recent years.

The total Soviet economic output has reached 40 per cent of that of our country. But Soviet per capita consumption is only 20 per cent of ours. The average diet and housing of the Soviet subject are little, if any, better than they were under the Czars.

No doubt the effects of the transitory fluctuations of our economy are depressive. But with us depressions come and go, while under communism depression is permanent.

The Communists behind the Iron Curtain have no idea of what a high living standard is—on the level attained by many millions in our country, Australia, Canada and the free European nations.

### Spotlight on Communist Planned Economy

Communists never cease ranting against the "anarchy of capitalist production" and raving about the Soviet government having eliminated "for the first time in history overproduction crises."

Although some specific Kremlin claims are unfounded, it is true that total Soviet economic output has risen substantially. Moscow's economic experts have been boasting that the Soviet economy shows an annual productivity increase of 6.5 per cent. This is an exaggeration. But even if this were so, it would not mean that Communist planning operates smoothly and has provided a balanced and sound economy.

This overall rise includes a high percentage increase in the most backward sectors of the Soviet economy. Moreover, the targets set by the totalitarian planners are not always met, as has been the case in the production of electricity, gas, pig iron and steel. Iron ore output has deteriorated qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

In 1957 there was a decline, or even a cutback, in such key investment products as metallurgical equipment, turbines, railway freight cars, building bricks, window glass, various ferrous metals rolling mill products, machines and other equipment.

In seven of the sixteen constituent republics of the U.S.S.R., the plans for the light industries and food production were not fulfilled. Though there was an increase in the volume of certain consumers' durable goods, yet the price for these items was raised. Therefore, only the highly paid, upper-bracket Communist bureaucrats could afford such goods.

In housing construction, Soviet planning has consistently failed. The first Five-Year Plan (1929-32) fulfilled only 54 per cent of its housing program; the second Five-Year Plan

(1933-37) only 41.9 per cent; the third Five-Year Plan (1938-42) did attain 85.2 per cent of its target—but only because it was on a much lower level. The fourth Five-Year Plan (1946-50) showed 77 per cent fulfillment of its housing construction plans.

Only a year and a half after its adoption, the sixth Five-Year Plan was scrapped because the goals it set were too high.

The much-touted Communist planning is certainly not free from its own brand of anarchy—from the anarchy of unfulfillment and imbalance. The planned Communist industry is plagued with inefficient and wasteful administration.

Today the Soviet economy lags behind the American economy in output per worker in twenty-one basic industries. What is more, in these industries, the lag is greater today than it was before the 1917 Bolshevik counter-revolution. On the whole, the Soviet economy has to use two or three workers to produce what one American worker does.

In some commodities the Communist planners have done better than in others. The Kremlin has concentrated on and achieved greater growth in the production of coal, oil, cement, lumber, steel and heavy machinery. Thus by 1955 Soviet pig iron production was 47 per cent of American; steel ingot and slabs, 43 per cent; presses and forges, 80 per cent; ships, 82 per cent. At the same time Soviet radio and TV production was only 18 per cent of ours; refrigerators, 5 per cent; washing machines, 2 per cent; and autos only 1 per cent.

These figures reveal that the Communist economy is planned for and geared to provide armaments rather than an improved standard of living and the consumers' goods for which the Soviet people yearn. Today Moscow wants America and the other democracies to provide it with certain sorely needed vital consumers' goods and machinery for producing the same. Khrushchev brazenly asks America, Britain and Germany to build for him plastic and other plants so that he can (1) continue concentrating on armament production, and (2) have the free world help him reduce discontent in the U.S.S.R. by thus providing the Soviet people with the goods they want so much.

While the American economy faces many problems of surplus, the Soviet

economy continues to be plagued by the problems of serious scarcity—especially in vital consumer goods.

For instance, in our country there are hundreds of thousands of cars lined up waiting for customers. But in the U.S.S.R., though the number of would-be auto buyers is, comparatively speaking, ridiculously low, yet the number of these few buyers has been increasing twice as fast as production.

Despite all the boasting about Soviet planning and the high rate of Communist economic growth, the U.S.S.R. continues to suffer from a severe shortage of capital. This shortage is one of the reasons for the recent Khrushchev letter to President Eisenhower pleading for credits with which to purchase machinery. This shortage was frankly admitted by Soviet planner I. A. Kulev, when he recently stated that in 1957 the Kremlin could allocate only 170 of the 240 billion rubles requested by the various Kremlin ministries.

The capital needed for meeting the sixth Five-Year Plan through 1960 is not available. For this period only 990 billion rubles could be allocated. This is 370 billion rubles less than requested and needed by the various ministries.

WHILE claiming a 12 per cent increase in capital during 1957, Moscow admitted that the available Soviet capital supply was 6 per cent below the target. Early in June the official government daily, *Izvestia*, announced two decrees reflecting the serious capital shortage. One decree provided for a cutback on investment projects with an estimated cost of less than 50 million rubles (\$12,500,000). The other prohibited the starting of any project for which sufficient funds could not be assured in advance to guarantee its completion on time.

Shortage of capital, an inadequate supply of certain basic materials and the shift to nuclear weapons have led the Kremlin to scrap its sixth Five-Year Plan. But even under these circumstances Moscow would not curtail its military budget. Instead, the Soviet government reduced its original capital investment plans and production goals and redoubled its efforts to secure consumers' goods and machinery from abroad.

In fact, one of the main reasons behind the Kremlin campaign for a

summit conference was its hope that it would provide an atmosphere more favorable to such helpful trade with the very democracies it seeks to bury.

With only 6 per cent of the world's land and population, the American economy has been producing 30 per cent of the world's goods. At the same time our people have been giving away many billions of dollars to help other nations improve and develop their economies.

The threat to our country's industrial primacy is not to be found in the economic progress of any other nation. The real danger we face is in letting down our guard and permitting our own production and consumption to fall.

### Soviet Economy Versus the Workers

The biggest of all big lies peddled by the Kremlin dictatorship and its supporters outside the Soviet empire is that the Communist system is for the benefit of the workers.

Communist totalitarian regimentation permits no free trade union organization. The Soviet worker pays a very heavy price for not having bonafide free trade unions as instruments for raising his living standard, for assuring him an equitable share of the benefits of modern technology. The Soviet "unions" exist to speed production—especially in the heavy industries geared to the production of weapons of aggression.

Millions of Soviet workers have to pay 1 per cent of their wages as dues to finance the conduct of their "union" affairs "under the guidance of the Communist Party." These dues payments amount to over 3,000 million rubles a year—at the official exchange rate, about \$800,000,000.

Do the Soviet "unions" use this vast treasury to protect the workers' interests under communism? Well, the average Soviet wage is so low that many workers are forced to do extra work, on the land, in order to eke out an existence. In 1933 the total area of land on which workers were raising their own vegetables and potatoes amounted to 1,300,000 acres. By 1950 this area rose to 3,150,000 acres. By 1955 this supplementary income for the workers was eked out by cultivating an area of 3,420,000 acres.

Exploitation in the Soviet factories is so intense that many workers, trying to earn enough to live on, have



Joseph Stalin lied when he claimed that communism is for the benefit of working people. Stalin is dead, but the same falsehood is repeated by Khrushchev, the new strong man.

turned to raising livestock as a source of supplementary income. Soviet workers raised 389,000 heads of cattle in 1933; 4,932,000 in 1941; and 6,596,000 in 1955. By the middle of 1956 the Soviet government was alarmed by this trend and took action to discourage this practice.

ONE might ask: "Why has the Soviet dictatorship permitted so many workers to become half-peasant and half-proletariat?" The noted student of Soviet labor conditions, Paul Barton, explains the development as follows:

"While their pitifully low wages incite proletarians to take up farming or trade, the added profits they gain thereby facilitate, in turn, the low-wage policy. In the eyes of the employer-state, the savings that result from the policy seem, rightly or wrongly, greater than the tremendous losses it sustains through low productivity, not to mention thieving in the factories, which has become a regular institution." ("Labor in the Soviet Union," *Saturn*, Vol. IV, No. 1, page 28, March, 1958.)

In effect, these possibilities of earning supplementary income tend to undermine the worker's initiative and interest in production. This is a reversion to feudal practices in the utilization of labor in a country with modern industry and technology. How low the Soviet wage level has been can be seen from the fact that when finally, in January, 1957, a

minimum wage was decreed, 8,000,000 workers benefited thereby.

The Soviet labor regulations set the total fund which each factory may pay out in wages. The management is permitted to draw on this wage fund only to the extent that the particular factory fulfills its production quota. If the quota is not fulfilled, the wage fund is reduced—whether it is the fault of the workers or management or due to other reasons. Then all the workers suffer wage losses. The lowest paid are, quite naturally, the hardest hit.

Proof of the heartless attitude of the Soviet rulers in their exploitation of labor was provided by none other than Soviet Finance Minister Zverev when he declared, on February 3, 1955:

"Over-expenditure of the wage fund must be regarded as the crudest violation of state discipline, and those guilty of it must be called to strict responsibility." (*Pravda*, February 4, 1955.)

One year later Khrushchev was no less blunt when he stated:

"There is a great deal of muddle in the wage system \* \* \*. It is of paramount importance to insist on improving and perfecting the wage structure in all sectors of the economy, to make wages directly dependent on the quality and quantity of the labor of every worker and to make full use of this powerful lever—material interest—so as to increase labor productivity." (*Pravda*, February 15, 1956.) (My emphasis).

In this spirit, the last Five-Year Plan provided for an increase of gross industrial production by 65 per cent, labor productivity by 50 per cent and real wages by only 30 per cent.

**S**OVIENT practices in the recruiting and assignment of workers are similar to those which prevailed in the days of Peter the Great, when the serfs were mobilized in the villages and brought into the factories to turn out munitions for Czarist wars of aggression.

In 1955 and 1956 some of the harshest methods of coercion of labor were somewhat softened. Today the Soviet apprentice is no longer subject to forced enrollment upon graduation from vocational schools. But the apprentice is still rigidly restricted in his choice of employment.

Despite Khrushchev's so-called liberal reforms, the Soviet workers do

not enjoy freedom in choosing and changing their jobs. When a Soviet worker leaves his job against the desire of the manager, he will find himself hopelessly tangled in a maze of bureaucratic administrative rules calculated to prevent his getting a job where he wants to be employed.

Under Khrushchev, as under Stalin, the police can deny any worker the right to leave his place of residence. And when he does seek a new job, the local "agent" for the transfer and recruiting of workers can force him to enter an industry from which workers try to keep away because of its working conditions.

Furthermore, the Soviet worker who changes his job in 1958 risks losing his right to health insurance payments for six months, the withdrawal of bonuses for seniority up to 25 per cent and being labeled as dismissed rather than self-transferred from his job. He also faces a definite loss of tenure which determines the extent of his other social benefits.

Though the "free" Soviet worker is subjected to these and many other abuses, the plight of the millions still in the Soviet forced labor camps must be infinitely worse.

**A** COMPARISON of the trend of real wages in the United States and the Soviet Union is instructive and significant. In 1938 the purchasing power of the average hourly wage in the United States was four times that of the U.S.S.R. In 1956 it was five times as high.

And thanks, in very large measure, to the strength and militancy of our trade union movement, the American worker's share in the returns of our national economy has been rising. In 1929, prior to the great economic crisis, 58.2 per cent went into compensation for employees. During 1946-50 this share rose to 64.7 per cent. The period of 1951 to 1955 showed 68 per cent of the total returns of America's national economy going into compensation for employees.

Throughout nearly all of the forty years of Communist dictatorship, the price of a basket of common food (beef, butter, rye bread, potatoes) took a greater part of the worker's wages than in 1913. Not until 1956 did the Soviet workers finally manage to show some net gain in this regard—only two-tenths of one per cent. Though the supply of consumers' goods has risen since 1954, there has

been no price reduction since that time.

The Communists boast that there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. They should add that many Soviet industries are technically backward and wasteful. Thus, many are employed who would not be if the plants were modern and efficient. Furthermore, the gigantic Communist bureaucracy absorbs much of what would otherwise be a surplus of labor. Recently the Polish Communist rulers admitted this openly.

And then there are still from six to eight millions in various types of forced labor camps. In a slave state, there can hardly be any unemployment.

It is against this entire background that the Soviet elimination of unemployment should be judged. The economist Gabriel Hauge has put it well:

"It would be no trick for us to abolish unemployment in the Soviet fashion by abolishing free enterprise and chaining every worker to a state-controlled job. You don't have to ask free American labor why they reject that solution with the virtual serfdom and accompanying low wages it would entail." (*U.S. News and World Report*, April 25, 1958.)

Our country has suffered from economic recessions of varying duration and intensity. But the Soviet economy is in a state of permanent depression—insofar as the standards of life and labor are concerned. In the Communist economic and political system, inhuman exploitation and dictatorship are inherent and permanent.

### **Soviet Economy —Against the Farmers**

Soviet economy has certain "advantages" over competitive, free economy as we know it. Whenever the politics of the ruling clique require, the Soviet economy can, by decree, determine prices, devalue currency, wipe out the government debt and expropriate (confiscate) private and cooperative property—without fear of effective opposition by labor, the farmers or the consumers.

In spite of these "advantages," the Soviet economy has not managed to avoid serious difficulties—especially in agriculture. The total Soviet working force today is over 110,000,000. Fifty-two million of this number are working on 480,000,000 acres of land. Yet the Soviet diet is poor in quantity and quality.

Russia has the largest black soil area in the world—247,000,000 acres. Yet with all the tractors and mechanical contrivances at its disposal, Soviet agriculture has been unable to meet the elementary food needs of the people in milk, meat, butter and eggs.

**I**n comparison with the U.S., Soviet agriculture is less productive than industry. There are only 6,000,000 involved in our rural economy. Yet our farmers, working on 260,000,000 acres, produce a surplus of food and enable our nation to help feed generously other nations—even impoverished and needy Soviet satellites like Communist Poland.

When Stalin, put through the collectivization program in the countryside, his commissars were “dizzy with success.” This “Soviet success” cost millions of lives and immeasurable human suffering. Despite purges and terror, the Soviet farmer could not be goaded into sufficient production.

In our country the agricultural labor force is about one-tenth of the total labor force. In the U.S.S.R. it is about one-half. Yet the U.S. produces more than three times as much meat per person and 40 per cent more milk than the Soviet Union. Khrushchev admitted (*Pravda*, May 24, 1957) that, in 1956, meat production per person was 225 pounds in the U.S. and only 71 pounds in the Soviet Union. The Soviet dictator then estimated that, for 1957, the production of milk per capita would be 742 pounds in the United States and 591 pounds in Russia.

Time and again, Soviet agricultural experts were rushed to the U.S. to learn something about improving milk and meat production. In 1955 such a Soviet mission learned something about increasing corn production, especially for silage. It was in the American Midwest—bailiwick of agricultural private enterprise—that Moscow’s experts learned how to increase the average milk yield per cow.

For more than two decades the Kremlin has hailed its state farms as “the most advanced large-scale economy the world has ever seen.” But Mr. Benediktov, formerly Minister of Agriculture, officially reported that many of these models of Communist enterprise were operated at a loss.

During the discussion of the Soviet budget in 1956, Benediktov said that in 1954 “over two-thirds of the state farms of the Ministry of State Farms

finished the year with losses amounting to 1,763 million rubles. In 1955 the losses from state farms came to approximately 2,000 million rubles.” (*Planovoe Khozyastvo, Planned Economy*, No. 1, 1956.) In the same publication, Volume 1, 1957, Benediktov wrote: “In 1956 the state farms, taken as a whole, for the first time made a profit. However, a considerable number of state farms still ran at a loss.” Mr. Benediktov might have added that this 1956 profit was due to exceptionally good weather.

Agriculture has been the weakest sector of the Soviet economy. Forced collectivization has robbed the peasant of incentive to produce. He has been subjected to low prices for his produce and simultaneous high cost of manufactured consumers’ goods.

Agricultural production has been hampered by recurrent drives to shift manpower to industry. Soviet agriculture is still backward in its use of machinery and fertilizers. In 1956 there were less than a million tractors on Soviet farms—as against 4,800,000 on American farms.

**D**ESPITE constant talk of successes and continuous policy shifts in Soviet agronomy, the agricultural sector suffers from enormous waste of manpower. In Soviet agriculture there is one worker for every ten acres sown. In the United States there is one worker for every sixty acres sown.

Nearly 20,000,000 families live on the 86,000 Soviet collectives. Only 41 per cent of these collectives had electric power at the close of 1954. Mass deportations, slave labor camps, executions and frequently shifting political and agricultural panaceas (Lysenko) have not given the Soviet peasant the incentive to produce sufficient food for the people.

Toward remedying somewhat this critical situation, the Kremlin decreed on April 20, 1958, the liquidation of the machine and tractor stations. These are henceforth to serve as repair and technical stations and the tractors are to be sold to the collectives. A vast array of Communist Party functionaries and technical workers are now being assigned to take care of the supervisory and administrative tasks in the collective farms.

No doubt the machine and tractor stations were filled with excessive numbers of cadres of all sorts. Red

tape, party control and interference had only aggravated the planned inefficiency of the huge parking lots of agricultural machinery for hire to the collectives. The period for the sale of the machinery to the collective farms will be five years instead of the two or three Khrushchev first proposed. Shifting such financial burdens from the government to the collective farmers will, to put it mildly, provide no incentive to or guarantee for their producing more.

The complete “statization” of Soviet agriculture runs like a red thread through all of Khrushchev’s agricultural panaceas through the years. Through the decree of March 10, 1956, the size of the private plot permitted to the collective farmer was reduced to between 0.15 and 0.3 of a hectare, his livestock holdings cut down and the number of obligatory work days raised. On September 12, 1957, Khrushchev raised the income tax on collective farms. [One hectare equals 2.47 acres.]

According to the Soviet Statistical Yearbook for 1956, the number of collective farms fell by 6,800 in the preceding two years. In the same period the number of large-sized state farms increased by 666, that is, from 5,134 to 5,800.

The latest Khrushchev twist of policy (June, 1958) marks another step in the direction of turning the Soviet peasants into agricultural factory hands. The peasant is to be robbed of every vestige of his former liberty. He is to be chained to the state-operated farms—which has always been the ideal of Communist agriculture. In this light, there is very little for the Soviet peasant in the recent much-vaunted abolition of forced delivery.

Since Khrushchev took over, more than 30,000 specially selected Communist Party agents and a horde of all sorts of “specialists” have been ordered into the countryside to hasten the attainment of this “ideal.”

### **Soviet Economy Versus the People**

Not even the most fanatical supporters of the Kremlin regime will deny that Soviet economic progress has been bought at a very heavy price—in terms of human suffering, privations, terror and death by the millions. The terrible misery of the working people which accompanied the early and most callous days of

the Industrial Revolution was mild and humane in comparison with the brutal exploitation and oppression which have been employed to promote the upbuilding of the Soviet economy in the fields and factories of the U.S.S.R.

In spite of this dreadful price paid by the Soviet peoples for rushing with industrialization under Communist domination and planning, they still do not have sufficient food, clothing and housing. The great mass of people are still unable to fulfill many of the needs easily met in the Western democratic lands. And the denial of human rights and liberties makes it extremely difficult for those under the yoke of communism to secure peacefully any real improvement of their conditions of life and labor.

The Soviet peoples occupy a land area three times the size of ours. With all the ballyhoo about Soviet economic progress, there are only about 75,000 miles of railroads and 30,000 miles of improved roads in the U.S.S.R. In our country there are 220,000 miles of railroads and 2,300,000 miles of improved roads. Some of the world's finest airplanes are produced in the Soviet Union, but these are not for use by the people. Air travel in the U.S.S.R. is only one-tenth that of the United States. And while the people of our country enjoy the use of 56,000,000 passenger cars and 10,900,000 trucks, the Soviet "paradise" has only 700,000 autos and 2,800,000 trucks.

**I**N OUR country there are more than thirty times as many telephones, more than twenty-two times as many television sets and over fifteen times as many radios as in Communist Russia. In 1955 electric power production per capita totaled 3,330 kilowatt hours in the United States and only 830 in the U.S.S.R. In steel the Soviet productive capacity is about half ours and most of the output is diverted to military use.

The Soviet chemical industry is rather poor, despite the enormous chemical resources of the country. For instance, in the production of plastics and synthetic fibers for shoes, clothing and other peaceful consumers' uses, the Soviet economy lags badly behind the United States. Moscow is now soliciting the assistance of American and British plastics experts to build up such an industry



Soviet workers don't eat very well. The prices of basic foods are high. In the U.S.S.R. only one pound of meat per person is available each week.

in the U.S.S.R. Surely there is enough technical skill in the Soviet Union for great progress in the chemical industry. But Moscow is too busy concentrating Soviet skill and resources on military technology and guided missiles.

The Soviet economy has been particularly derelict in providing housing facilities for its people. On the average, a Soviet subject has only 52 square feet of dwelling space. This is about one-seventh the space now enjoyed by the average American. In fact, in our country, a federal prisoner gets sixty square feet—more than the regimented comrade in Russia.

It is rather significant that, before Lenin seized power, the average urban living space was 107.5 square feet per person. By 1923 it fell to 86 square feet; in 1928 to 59.7 square feet; in 1952 to 37.6 square feet. By 1954 it rose to 37.9 square feet!

In contrast, under the "anarchy" of capitalism in the United States, even average low-rent housing provides 198 square feet per person. This is more than five times the housing space available, on the average, to the urban Soviet citizen.

Particularly in Moscow, the trend has been downward. In 1913 the average Muscovite had 9.8 square meters of housing space; in 1955 it fell to 7.3 square meters. Last year nearly one million residences were built in the U.S.S.R. This rate of construction is no higher than that of 1925, when the Soviet population was 25 per cent smaller.

The Soviet economy is marked by heavy reinvestment of its gross national product in industrial development. In 1955 this reinvestment was 26.9 per cent, while in the United States it was 18.7 per cent. But only a small part of such Soviet reinvestment has gone into consumers' goods.

This accounts in no small measure for the high prices for basic consumer goods in the U.S.S.R. For instance, at the end of last year it cost two rubles (about half a dollar, official exchange rate) to buy a pound of bread and ten to fourteen rubles (\$2.50 to \$3.50) to buy a pound of butter in Moscow. Milk brought three rubles (75 cents) a liter. Eggs, when found, were about a ruble (25 cents) each. And pork commanded nine rubles (\$2.25) a pound!

In the country as a whole there is available about one pound of meat per person per week. On the average, it takes one and one-half hours of work to secure this. The average Soviet factory worker has to put in one month of labor to get an ordinary, everyday suit of clothes.

The annual total value of accrued goods and services is \$430,000,000 for the United States and about \$100,000,000 for the U.S.S.R.

Soviet economy has promised much and performed little to date for the population of the Russian Communist empire. But the promises of the Kremlin rulers to their own people are worth as little as those made to other peoples. Only about a year ago the Soviet government repudiated much of its internal debt—that is,

the debt to its own people. The Kremlin virtually repudiated 260 billion rubles of state bonds by simply halting the payment of interest and postponing redemption of the bonds for twenty years.

To the average Soviet family this meant a loss equivalent to at least half of its total earnings for a year. Denied all democratic rights and fully disarmed politically, the Soviet people are in no position to force their rulers to make good on their repeated promises to better the conditions of life and labor.

It is now more than twenty years since the present much-vaunted "Stalin constitution," pledging a seven-hour day, was adopted. But this Soviet pledge, like many others, is a dead letter for the great mass of workers. Only recently has the forty-eight-hour workweek been reduced to forty-six.

The same Soviet constitution guarantees every constituent Soviet republic the right of secession from the U.S.S.R. But woe unto any person in any such republic who would ever dare breathe such a word. The experience of Hungary, which was supposedly a separate and independent country, shows how worthless Soviet promises are.

It is now more than forty years since the Soviet peoples were promised the end of all exploitation and oppression. But the very nature and operation of Soviet economy, as an economy based on inhuman exploitation and buttressed by totalitarian tyranny, belie every promise for a better day and more freedom solemnly made by the founding fathers of communism.

For a modern industrial nation, the Soviet people have a very low standard of living. In production and consumption, the Soviet economy is much inferior to the American economy.

### **Soviet Economy —A War Economy**

Heavy industrialization has always been cardinal to Leninist communism. But in the last decade or so there has been a significant shift in the motivating force behind the Soviet drive for speedy heavy industrialization.

At first the Soviet peoples were told that it was vital for them to bear all burdens and work hard to build heavy industry as a prerequisite for

an economy that would provide them adequate living standards. But in recent years emphasis has been shifting to heavy industry as prerequisite for gigantic armament production.

Yet the Soviet rulers realize that the people are yearning for more consumers' goods and a share in the benefits of modern industrial technology. The Kremlin oligarchy realizes that more consumers' goods must be made available to the people if the Soviet Union is to develop an adequate industrial working force, increasing individual efficiency and greater per capita productivity.

But the Soviet dictatorship is determined that the Russian capacity for the production of armaments must under no condition be disturbed by any effort to provide the people with more consumers' goods. Today the U.S.S.R. puts 25 per cent of its gross national production into military goods, while the United States puts in less than 10 per cent. These proportions are significant in a qualitative, no less than in a quantitative, sense. In missile technology the Soviet economy is preeminent.

No one should belittle the rate or extent of overall Soviet economic growth. However, it has been a growth geared to military aggression against other nations and, at best, to only secondary consideration for the well-being of the nation. What is more, this type of economy could never have attained its present levels in some fields without having at its disposal instruments of terror against the people.

No one can really comprehend the full meaning of Soviet economic growth without at the same time keeping in mind the even greater growth of the machinery of political suppression at the disposal of the Communist Party dictatorship.

The rate of growth of the Soviet repressive machine is higher than the rate of Soviet economic growth. The Czar's political police force (Okhrana) consisted of 4,000 to 5,000 officials and operatives. The number of political exiles, in the days of the despotic Czar Nicholas II, was 20,000 to 30,000. But the Soviet political police apparatus now has a personnel of nearly 2,000,000—including a special army for purely domestic operations.

Though propagandizing throughout the world the doctrine of the withering away of the state as a

measure of the growth of socialism, the Kremlin rulers have built up in the Soviet empire the most gigantic repressive state machine in all history.

If the Soviet economic system and social relations are so good and do so much for the people, then why do the Communist rulers need such gigantic machinery to hold down and suppress the people? Surely Khrushchev and his comrades are not sadists for the sake of sadism and do not engage in murder for the sake of murder. It is a matter of policy that Khrushchev keeps at his right hand in the wielding of absolute power the notorious General Serov, who has for many years directed purges, liquidations, deportations and executions in the U.S.S.R.

### **Conclusion**

The Communists have extended and consolidated their power, but they have not eliminated social injustice, wage inequalities or low living standards. Nowhere in the world are there such gross wage inequalities and differentials as in the Soviet economy. The Communists have not eliminated but have only socialized poverty and hunger and abolished democracy.

The peoples of the U.S.S.R. have much talent and great ability. They are a virile and industrious people. They love their homeland. It was not necessary to rob the Russian people of their human rights and democratic liberties in order to achieve their great economic progress. There is enough ability among the peoples of the Soviet empire and there are enough natural resources in the vast area they occupy for their developing a modern efficient economy—without paying such a dreadful price in human suffering and without submitting to a totalitarian dictatorship which is the scourge of world peace and freedom.

The history of the American people is a history of friendship and generosity toward other nations. Time and again the peoples of the Russian empire have benefited from this friendly and peaceful American attitude. In the famine days of 1921, Lenin acknowledged that our country saved millions of Soviet citizens from starvation—without regard to their political alignment. After Hitler doublecrossed Stalin and invaded the U.S.S.R. in 1941, our country

spared no effort or material resources to help the Soviet peoples.

Today the American people would rejoice in Soviet technical progress—if only this progress were geared to the improvement of the conditions of life and labor in the U.S.S.R. and directed into the channels of peace instead of to the constant upbuilding of a gigantic military machine for Soviet world conquest and Communist enslavement.

The Soviet rulers have yet to slow down their armaments program, their mad pace of building an arsenal of thermonuclear weapons and guided missiles. Despite all his boasts, Khrushchev has yet to make a single serious move shifting from military emphasis in the economy to "lifting the living standards of the people."

Nor would our country or any other freedom-loving people have any reason to be seriously disturbed by the increasing Soviet economic involvement and enterprise in the industrially underdeveloped countries, were it not for the fact that these Kremlin commercial and financial undertakings are primarily means of Muscovite political penetration and Communist subversion.

In this situation, neither our country nor any other peaceful, liberty-loving people can afford to be smug

and complacent over the present Soviet economic offensive. We must be on guard against the present advanced Soviet industrial position and economic offensive only because they aim to promote Soviet aggression and Communist subversion. Herein lies the threat of Soviet economic growth and expansion to the peace and freedom of all mankind.

To meet this Soviet challenge and threat, our country must not only be militarily strong. We must at the same time make sure that our economy does not stagnate and that we avoid economic recessions. Furthermore, our country must assume greater initiative and responsibility for strengthening the economies of the free and democratic countries, promoting economic as well as political and military cooperation among all the free peoples and thereby enhancing the prosperity of the free world.

Our country can meet the test through insuring the growth of our productive capacities and living standards. Even if the Soviet economy were to expand at a faster rate than ours in the next decade—and there is no reason why it must—it would still have only half of our productive capacity.

America has greater depth in eco-

nomic reserves. We have a bigger and more skilled labor force. We have enough basic wealth to have given away to other nations, in the last ten years, more than fifty billion dollars in economic assistance.

What our country has to fear and guard against is the slowing down of its own industrial capacities and growth rather than Soviet economic growth or competition as such.

In this light, the present economic recession is a grave danger to our nation, to world peace and human freedom.

Communism has shown itself to be neither willing nor able to provide a better and happier life for the Soviet peoples. Soviet communism has developed and incorporated organic features of slavery and serfdom.

The Kremlin dictatorship rules through the use of militarized bureaucratic methods. Its empire is held together by brute force. Soviet power is wielded through savage terror or the permanent threat thereof.

Our country can, by the continuation of economic progress and the strengthening of our democratic way of life, serve as an example and demonstrate to the Soviet and all other peoples that a free society is most effective in promoting human well-being, liberty and peace.

## ***Soviets Ignore Minority Rights***

**T**HE LIP SERVICE the Soviet Union gives to the "rights" of its minority groups bears no resemblance to the "practical application of Soviet nationality policy," the Library of Congress reports in a study prepared for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

"In going from precept to practice," the study asserts, "the Soviets have allowed little or no room for genuine expression of the principles set forth in the various declarations of rights and in constitutions. That Soviet nationality policy has been harsh and often inhuman is shown by the history of over four decades of ruthless suppression of the non-Russian minorities. \* \* \* Genocide, massive discrimination and abuse of power have been and continue to be the chief instruments of the Soviet govern-

ment in carrying out its nationality policy."

The study points out that Russia is really a "multi-national" state with ethnic groups variously estimated from 177 to more than 200, and that only a bare 50 per cent of its population are "Great Russians." It describes acts of genocide, discrimination and abuse of power by the Communist ruling clique against nationalist groups from the 1920s.

Once the transitory compromises that gave a semblance of life to the principle of self-determination at that time were cast out, the study says, "the trend of Soviet nationality policy did not deviate from the general restrictive line that 'bourgeois nationalism,' or genuine self-determination of nations, was a foreign, anti-Soviet doctrine."

# THE PEOPLE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED

By JAMES L. McDEVITT  
*National Director, COPE*

**A**NY politician who thinks he can know what's on the minds and in the hearts of people should have accompanied the staff of COPE as it made the rounds of this year's COPE area conferences. His eyes would have been opened as he met and listened to the more than 4,000 people who came to these eight conferences, separated by nearly 10,000 miles of travel.

The plain fact is that the American voters today are as well informed about the issues and as determined to express themselves this summer and this fall, in the primaries and in the general election, as any voting public in the world. They regard the government's business as their business, and any public official who thinks he can fool the voters is only fooling himself. In particular, this is more and more true of trade union members than of any other group.

Of course, there are exceptions. Of course, there are the individuals here and there who say, "Politics has nothing to do with me." And from these casual exceptions it is easy for the skeptic and the cynic to make cheap generalizations about the health of our democratic system. They are looking only at a few trees and ignoring the forest.

It is clear that the state of health of our democracy is excellent. It is vigorous, active, alert—and many politicians who have been operating on the contrary theory are going to have lots of time next winter to sit at home and reflect upon their mistake in thinking otherwise.

There are several reasons for this. Perhaps the main one is the slowdown in the American economy which



JAMES L. McDEVITT

has cost millions of workers their jobs, cost many additional millions some portion of their weekly income through the loss of full-time work and brought fear and insecurity into the homes of still more.

For every person laid off or put on short time there are at least three others who worry about the same thing happening to them. Their concern is as great, and as politically important, as the concern of their laid-off neighbor.

We found, during the course of our conferences, that there is no widespread disposition to place the blame for the current status of our economic affairs. A substantial number believe the slump is due to the high interest rates and business-favoring tax policies of the current administration. They can cite, from their own experience and own certain knowledge, facts and figures that demolish the current propaganda about high wages and inflation.

A farm implement worker, for example, told us that the sales tax on an attachment to a cultivator exceeds

the labor cost of that attachment. The labor cost of the attachment is only \$2.40, he said, but the added cost to the farmer who purchases the equipment is \$38.

The majority feeling, however, is that, whatever the cause of the current slump, too little is being done to get us back on the economic track.

What we heard most often was: "I don't know why things have fallen off, but I sure think that something could be done about it. It just seems as if nobody in the government in Washington cares."

It should be heartening—to those Senators and Representatives who do care and who have attempted to "do something about it"—that in practically every instance this was followed with:

"Of course, I don't mean Senator Jones (or Representative Blank). But they can't do much by themselves."

It was our impression that this dissatisfaction with governmental leadership in Washington was directed mostly at the Administration and at the White House but that a significant part of it was directed at the Congressional leadership.

It seems to be felt that in this area there is an unfilled vacuum.

**A** SECOND reason for the concern of large numbers of people this year over the outcome of the elections is the assault upon their unions, an assault unprecedented since the open shop drive of the 1920s.

In those states in which the drive for compulsory open shop laws is under way, as well as in the states afflicted with such legislation, there is a hum of activity that would make even a self-respecting beehive look



Director McDevitt and COPE women gathered at a demonstration of use of card files in registration work.

like a bunch of loafers. This is a defensive fight, but in many places we heard the sentiment expressed:

"We've got to elect a Congress that will repeal 14-b [of the Taft-Hartley Act]. That's what's causing all this trouble."

Speakers' bureaus are now being formed. Handbooks and literature have been prepared and published. Registration drives are under way. Discussion groups are chewing the subject over. Political organizations are being formed to get out the informed vote on Election Day.

**C**ERTAINLY high on the list of reasons why this year promises to be an active one politically must be the fact that women in very large numbers are taking part in the fight.

At one of the conferences nearly half of the delegates were women, sent there by their local unions or accompanying their husbands. At each of two conferences more than fifty women received the pins and scrolls awarded by the Women's Activities Division of COPE attesting to the fact that they had contributed more than 100 hours of their time in volunteer work. And there were many more who had already received their pins and were wearing them proudly.

The importance of these women's activities cannot be overestimated.

Not only do the ladies devote themselves to the all-important task of checking union membership lists against lists of registered voters. They also provide the spark plug, the continuity and the devotion to duty that add the vital element to COPE work.

As AFL-CIO Director of Organization Jack Livingston jokingly told a number of conferences, "I would rather handle a grievance of 150 men

than ten women. Those women know what they want and they go out and get it, and I say, 'God bless 'em.'"

On the minds of the women seemed to be the subject of high prices. With people out of work, prices should come down, but they're going up. Housewives, as spenders of the nation's income, want to know why. The politicians better have a good answer ready for the campaigns this fall.

John W. Livingston, AFL-CIO's organizing director, was a speaker at a number of the area conferences.



Many other factors contribute to the increased political awareness of trade union members. Certainly one of them is the fact that each year, as more and more people become involved, interest spreads. The more they become involved the better they understand the importance of political education to the survival of the trade union movement and the more anxious they are to become crusaders in this field.

Although the tradition of political education in the American labor

movement is one of long standing, it is only in comparatively recent years that we have been engaged in its practice. Involving as it does the persuasion and understanding of millions of people, the creation of an effective, non-partisan political group takes time. The progress we have already made is heartening.

Already the COPE staff is looking forward to next year's area conferences, at which we will be able to assess the results of this fall's elections and look ahead to 1960. We

have plans to make the small discussion groups, which featured this year's conferences and gave to all who wished it an opportunity to talk, even more stimulating.

As one of the conferees remarked reflectively, standing in a Southwest hotel lobby:

"There's sure a lot of talk goes into politics. If nobody does anything about it, that's bad. But if people go out and do something about it, that's good. You'll see. This has been a good one."

# WRECKERS TRY AGAIN IN WASHINGTON STATE

By E. M. WESTON

*President, Washington State Labor Council*

**O**RGANIZED labor in Washington State is again facing a serious fight to retain the union shop and preserve a sound working relationship with employers.

Even though a so-called "right to work" proposal submitted to the voters only two years ago was defeated by a vote of 704,903 to 329,653, labor's enemies are at it again. They have come along with the same proposal but have clothed it in different language to snare the gullible.

This time the slogan is "voluntary unionism" and the anti-labor proposal is designated as Initiative 202. To place this union-undermining proposal on the November 4 ballot, labor's foes are required to come up with 90,319 valid signatures of registered voters. Although the deadline for filing the signatures has passed, it will be some time in August before the result of the count will be known.

The worst campaign Washington State has ever seen has been raging since January. The enemies of effective unionism have not hesitated to use lies, intimidation and gutter tactics.

Anti-union promoters have been engaged to put on the "right to

wreck" campaign as a so-called "Committee for Voluntary Unionism."

To oppose the anti-union forces, labor organized the United Labor Advisory Committee Against Initiative 202. The first aim of the Labor Advisory Committee was to keep the vicious proposition from appearing on the ballot. The voters were asked not to sign the petitions. The state was saturated with labor material explaining why Initiative 202 was being opposed and recalling that the same proposal had been turned down by the people in 1956.

**I**N THE early part of their campaign the proponents of the initiative were failing miserably. They could not have secured the required number of signatures at their rate of progress. When failure seemed inevitable, powerful assistance came from the largest employer in the state, the Boeing Airplane Company.

William Allen, Boeing's president, appeared from ambush with eleven employer satellites. They declared they were for 202. Broad publicity was given to the Allen proclamation, and everyone was invited to board the bandwagon. A letter from Allen

to Boeing supervisors told them to sign the 202 petitions and to get the employees they supervised to sign also. According to Allen, such a practice was not coercive. We disagree.

Charles Frankland of the Pacific National Bank was heard from. Many unions and union members have their money on deposit in that bank. William Allen is a director. Frankland came out for the "right to work" proposal and invited bankers throughout the state to hop on the "work" bandwagon without delay.

Should the new anti-labor initiative succeed in getting on the ballot, the United Labor Advisory Committee will put forth vigorous efforts to bring about another thorough rejection of the "wreck" idea by the Washington electorate.

"Right to work" was trounced in our state in 1956. It can be beaten again—with plenty of hard work. We of the organized labor movement believe that, once the myths have been demolished and the essential facts about the union security issue are known, the right-thinking voters of our state can be expected to spurn the destructiveness and the unfairness of Initiative 202.

# AFL-CIO BAKERS MAKE NOTABLE PROGRESS

By DANIEL E. CONWAY

*President, American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union*

**I**T MAY seem strange to many readers to think of an organization whose charter is just seven months old as having a history, but in reality ours is an organization with a long and glorious history. For we are the rightful heirs of the history, traditions and principles of those pioneers who devoted their lives to building an organization in which the workers in the baking and confectionery industry could find honest trade union representation.

These workers, down through the years, learned to love and cherish their organization and to respect their officers. It was hard for them at first to believe that corruption could exist in the administration of their organization. But when the facts became known to them, they were prompt to act for its elimination.

The thousands of letters, resolutions, petitions, telegrams and telephone calls from members to the officers, urging them to fulfill their responsibility of preserving the good name of their union, are testimonial to the men and women in that membership.

No effort was spared, no sacrifice was shirked in an effort to bring about a clean-up from within that would permit their organization to retain its affiliation with the trade union movement, free of any taint of corruption. Only after these efforts failed did the membership consider the formation of this organization.

All this is said to show the kind of men and women who make up the membership of our organization. Knowing them and the principles they stand for makes it easier to understand the amazing growth of our new international union.

In the seven months of our existence, we have had 128 local unions, by membership action, vote to seek



DANIEL E. CONWAY

affiliation. One of these locals has since returned to its former affiliation. Another has ceased to exist, as the company with which it had an agreement closed its doors.

In these local unions are more than one-half of the membership of the expelled international union. These

locals have all followed the orderly but cumbersome procedure of the National Labor Relations Board.

Members have withstood the delays and confusing tactics used in an effort to deprive them of their right to express their desires, and just as quickly as the National Labor Relations Board has permitted or ordered elections to be held, these working people have by overwhelming vote indicated their determination to be represented by an organization affiliated with the AFL-CIO.

In this same short period of time the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union has been successful in establishing national welfare funds and national pension funds which guarantee to the members not only identical benefits to those previously provided but also continuity of coverage.

To date, we have paid out \$131,369 in welfare benefits and have processed pension applications and are presently paying pension benefits.

We have also adopted a union label

Scores of locals have quit the expelled outfit and joined the international affiliated with AFL-CIO. This is Fresno group with its new ABC charter.





A delegation receives charter for local of 1,000 employees of A & P bakeries in the New York metropolitan area.

to distinguish the products turned out by our members. We have approved more than fifty million labels for printing on wrapping and packaging material, and additional orders for our labels are being received daily.

We were most happy to be able to participate in the recent Union Indus-

tries Show in Cincinnati and to receive a warm reception from the many thousands of Americans who visited our exhibit.

At this time we are preparing to hold our first constitutional convention. Early in September the delegates will assemble in Atlantic City

to adopt a constitution that will assure to the membership an organization honestly and democratically operated to provide them with militant representation.

They will, I am sure, reestablish the traditions, the principles and the integrity of our original founders.

## Inter-Union Alliances Must Meet Constitutional Test, Meany Says

*ANY ALLIANCE of an AFL-CIO affiliate with expelled organizations "must meet the test of whether or not it is in conformity with the spirit and wording of the AFL-CIO constitution," President Meany said last month on his return from Europe. His statement came during a ship-board interview in reply to a reporter's question about the so-called "Conference on Transportation Unity," creation of which was announced by James R. Hoffa, head of the expelled International Brotherhood of Teamsters.*

*Mr. Meany said the presence of the Teamsters and the expelled International Longshoremen's Association in the group's original list of sponsors "could very well be the start for what you might call a birds-of-a-feather federation." The AFL-CIO constitution prohibits "any alliance to build up the strength and prestige of unions that have been put outside the federation for violation of its ethical practices requirements," Mr. Meany declared.*



President Meany is back in the U.S. after visit to Europe. He attended ILO and ICFTU sessions.

# The University of Wisconsin's School for Workers

By **ROBERT OZANNE**

*Director, School for Workers*

**T**HIS SUMMER, as for the past thirty-four years, trade unionists from all over the Midwest are descending upon Wisconsin's capital city and home of the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Here are offered some fourteen one-week institutes on every phase of trade union education.

Unions joining with the university to sponsor one or more of the 1958 institutes are the American Federation of Teachers, the United Auto Workers, the Communications Workers, the International Association of Machinists, the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the United Steelworkers and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Other participants are the AFL-CIO Department of Research and the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

In one sense the School for Workers is simply one of over 100 teaching departments of the University of Wisconsin. Its function, however, is quite different from the ordinary university departments. It gives no examinations or credits. Its students get no degrees. The sole responsibility of the School for Workers is to teach trade unionists.

Just who are these workers? What do they study? What does the labor movement think of this program? How did it originate?

The University of Wisconsin School for Workers, in continuous operation since 1925, is by far the oldest of the presently operating university labor education programs. By 1925 few universities had even begun to study and teach about the labor movement. None had seriously thought about teaching workers themselves.

As might be expected, it took the simultaneous convergence of a number of forces to establish and main-



**ROBERT OZANNE**

tain this unusual institution. What were these forces?

The first was the political movement led by the LaFollettes. From 1900 to 1946 this liberal political movement created a climate in the state which was both favorable to the university and to trade unionism.

A second influence was the pioneering work in trade union history by the university's Department of Economics begun in 1904 under the famous John R. Commons and continued by other distinguished professors, including Selig Perlman and Philip Taft.

A third influence was the labor movement of Wisconsin. The labor movement of the state was influenced by the large influx of German Socialists who had settled in Milwaukee. They were particularly enthusiastic about education.

In 1922 under its president, Henry J. Ohl, the Wisconsin labor movement established its own "labor col-

leges" in several of the industrial cities of the state. Largely run and taught by labor leaders, these evening classes were an important forerunner of today's university-operated labor education program. But the difficulties of securing effective teachers and the cost of the program to a dwindling postwar labor movement soon forced its abandonment.

In the mid-Twenties the Wisconsin labor movement turned to the state university. Why, asked the labor leaders, should not the state university provide educational facilities for labor just as it does for farmers, business and professional groups? The labor movement was not asking for vocational training, which had been established on a statewide basis in 1910, but for training in problems of the trade union movement.

Professor Commons looked upon this request as a legitimate university service. He worked to bring about its fulfillment. A parallel project gave some promise of answering the State Federation's request.

In 1924 the university Economics Department, in cooperation with the Industrial Department of the YWCA, began a summer institute for factory girls. Parliamentary procedure, the written and spoken word, economics and current political issues were the basis of this curriculum. The great majority of students, recruited by the YWCA, were non-union.

Professor Commons then thought: "Could not this already existing summer institute program be an answer to the State Federation's request for an educational program for labor?" Unions were invited to participate.

In the late Twenties and early Thirties union members flooded into this program. Henry Rutz, now of the AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs but in 1928 a Milwaukee printer, was the first male to

invade this "Summer School for Working Girls." The curriculum changed with the changing interests of the students. Union administration, collective bargaining, steward training became the principal offerings.

While the number of students in attendance at the School for Workers was small—forty to sixty in its early years—its influence was probably never greater.

In the early Thirties relatively few American workers were familiar with the fundamentals of trade unionism. Workers who had attended the six-week School for Workers institute rapidly rose to positions of leadership in the expanding labor movement. More than a few of the nation's present labor leaders received training during those years at the Wisconsin School for Workers.

A significant expansion of the School for Workers occurred in 1935 when WPA funds made possible evening class programs in every city of the state. While WPA made such funds available in many states, the leadership of the School for Workers made possible effective utilization of the expenditures in Wisconsin.

**B**ACK in 1939 the report\* on "Educational Activities of the Works Progress Administration" had this to say:

"The most interesting and significant state-supported program of workers' education is that conducted under the auspices of the University of Wisconsin. \* \* \* It is probably true that such a highly coordinated and effective program is possible only in a state with advanced and intelligent appreciation of labor and social problems, and as the outgrowth of many years' experience with a workers' education summer school program."

The summer institute program continued during the war. In 1945 the State Legislature passed a bill reestablishing the statewide evening school program of the School for Workers.

Today 1,500 Wisconsin workers in twenty-five Wisconsin cities annually attend eight-week evening classes in trade unionism. Whether a Wisconsin trade unionist lives on the shores of Lake Superior, along the meandering Mississippi or in the



A seminar in local union administration at the School for Workers. Students belong to the Retail Clerks. Instructor is Norris Tibbetts.

industrialized Milwaukee area, he has available in his home town a wide variety of trade union courses.

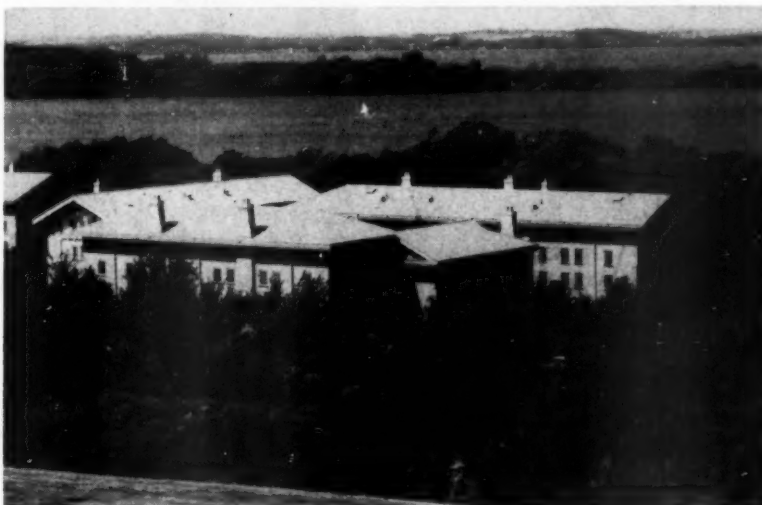
Eight hundred trade unionists attend the summer institutes. Another 1,300 attend special one- or two-day weekend conferences. Subjects taught are similar to those in the summer institutes. The most common ones are steward training, collective bargaining, union administration, time study, job evaluation, speech and parliamentary procedure, labor legislation, unemployment and workmen's compensation, current economic and political issues and labor history.

Workers' education classes are, of course, non-credit. There are no

formal academic prerequisites to enrollment. There may be some homework. There are never any grades. Most courses deal directly with problems which unionists meet in the shop, at the union meeting and at the bargaining table. Others emphasize the importance of unions' civic and world responsibilities.

Workers' education requires a very specialized faculty. The University of Wisconsin believes that both traditional academic training and union experience are desirable for members of the faculty. Most of the School for Workers faculty have come to the university from the labor movement. The chief loss of faculty is to the labor movement.

Trade unionists at the summer institutes live and attend classes in these dormitories on the shores of Madison's beautiful Lake Mendota.



\* D. S. Campbell, F. H. Bair and O. L. Harvey. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1939.



Workers studying job evaluation observe a drill press operation. Institute participants are taught how to prepare job descriptions.

The bulk of the teaching in the year-round evening class program is done by the full-time School for Workers faculty, currently numbering six.

Part-time teachers are available from other university departments, chiefly law, economics and political science, from government agencies, from law firms specializing in labor law and from trade unions.

The School for Workers' professors lead lives somewhat like that of the itinerant preacher. Three nights per week are the teaching load. Each night is usually in a different and distant city. The automobile and good roads, which should have shortened the travel time, merely enable faculty members to serve workers in more distant cities.

Most students are trade union stewards, local officers or rank-and-file members. Special institutes are planned for full-time union representatives. Summer institute students generally have all expenses paid by their local or national union. Workers normally take one-week leaves from their employer and are reimbursed for lost wages by the union. Charges for dormitory room, board and tuition currently run \$51.50 per week.

Eight-week evening classes in the worker's home community are available for the nominal registration fee of the local adult school, usually \$1.50 to \$2. Thus through public funds la-

bor education specialists from the state university are furnished to every local community at practically no cost to the worker or his local union.

For a university to succeed in a labor education program, it must have the enthusiastic support of the entire labor movement. The School for Workers at the University of Wis-

consin has received just that. Why?

The School for Workers was established at the request of the labor movement. A labor advisory committee composed of leading state unionists has regularly consulted with university faculty. This cooperative working together has insured that the educational program was directed toward the real needs and interests of unions and not merely at what university professors thought were their needs.

Summer institute programs are jointly planned with education officials of the participating unions. Roughly 50 per cent of the summer school faculty are selected from unions. The policy of the university to select faculty members who have themselves had direct union experience has helped to avoid

misunderstandings between union and university.

The idea of a tax-supported labor education program appears to be firmly embedded in the thinking of the University of Wisconsin and the Wisconsin labor movement. The university has gradually increased its financial (Continued on Page 31)



Professors and students chat about negotiation of contracts. Professor Jack Barbash, formerly of IUD, is second from left.

# A REPORT FROM MICHIGAN

By AUGUST SCHOLLE  
President, Michigan State AFL-CIO

**A** YEAR and a half ago the Detroit newspapers began a vicious campaign against Michigan and the so-called "unfavorable tax climate" in the state. One obvious objective was to discredit Governor G. Mennen Williams and his administration. The other objective—of equal importance—was to launch a new attack on organized labor.

Whether this campaign of the Detroit newspapers has been successful is questionable.

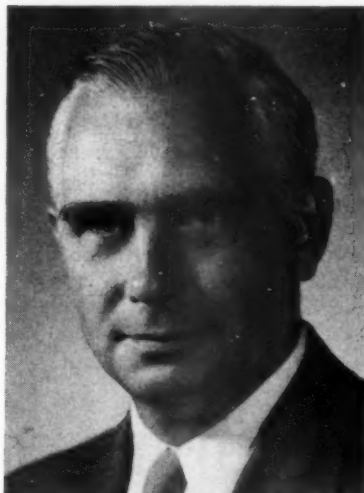
The allegation has been made repeatedly in the press that the tax climate under Governor Williams was "driving industry out of Michigan."

Whenever a Michigan corporation has begun an expansion program in other states, the newspapers have described it as another indication of the "unfavorable tax climate" causing industry to leave Michigan. But the papers do not seem to have courage enough to charge that Chrysler, General Motors and Ford are building plants in other states because of unfavorable conditions in Michigan.

The effect of the unwarranted stories published by the daily press has been to persuade enterprises throughout the nation that Michigan is a bad place to come to. At the risk of harming the state for a long period of time, they took a long gamble on trying to defeat Governor Williams and the Democratic Party in Michigan on this phony issue.

The newspapers also wanted to exploit to the fullest extent the unemployment which came about as a result of the closing down of several very antiquated automobile plants in Detroit. The moral standards of our daily papers were illustrated when they tried to frighten workers into the belief that, if they continued to support Governor Williams, they would be denying themselves job opportunities.

An analysis of the reasons for every move from Michigan that has been made by a concern for a number of years shows that the reasons



AUGUST SCHOLLE

for moving had nothing to do with the so-called "unfavorable tax climate."

A survey made under the auspices of the School of Business Administration of the University of Michigan concluded that "taxation as a factor in industrial location is rarely of primary importance."

**T**HE working people of Michigan have not been convinced that the Republican Party and its candidates are better for them than Governor Williams has been. He and his party have had increasing majorities at the polls. Wage-earners realize that every tax measure adopted in this state in the last twenty-five years has been enacted by the Republican Party through its complete domination of both houses of the Legislature.

The propaganda campaign of the newspapers has created more hostility to the Republican Party among members of the trade union movement. Working people in the state know that the daily papers are not only pro-Republican but also anti-labor.

How successful has the campaign of the press been? According to the directory of the *Michigan Manufacturer and Financial Record*, there has

been a net gain in the last two years of 1,100 new manufacturing companies in Michigan.

However, even with this increase, automation has taken a great toll of industrial jobs.

Between 1949 and 1957, Michigan gained 317,000 jobs—a gain of 15 per cent—while our working population grew 12 per cent. Most of these increases in employment were in retail and service trades.

An aspect of the newspapers' propaganda campaign which has not been obvious to the less discerning citizen relates to Michigan's real tax problem.

Michigan is one of the states with the highest percentage of regressive tax collections in the nation.

For years Governor Williams has urged adoption of a tax on corporation profits. The newspapers' anti-Michigan agitation, we believe, was inspired in part by a desire to discourage any further discussion of a levy on corporation profits.

With the cost of schools, roads, health programs and other state services going higher each year, one never hears any valid argument against a corporation profits tax on the basis of equity. But the phony scare slogan of "driving industry out of Michigan" is heard constantly.

The average citizen is asked to believe that it is just fine to continue to collect about 70 per cent of the state's revenue from consumers but that it would be awful to have a tax on the billions of dollars of profits made by Michigan corporations.

Officers of the United Auto Workers revealed recently that, in spite of the claims that the tax climate in Michigan is so bad for industry, an individual who bought \$10,000 worth of General Motors stock in 1948 had been able to make a net profit since then of \$54,000, while the average General Motors employee in the same period, working forty hours a week and fifty weeks per year, would have earned only \$46,000.

At a meeting of unemployed work-



Unfair attacks on Gov. Williams are resented by working people.

ers, Republican officials suggested as a solution to the unemployment problem that the unemployed spend their "hoarded savings" and go back home and buy new cars. They advised the jobless men and women that unemployment is mostly "psychological" anyway.

This happened recently in Lansing, the state capital, where 4,500 unemployed workers had gathered to discuss the unemployment situation and possible solutions of their problems with both Republican and Democratic lawmakers.

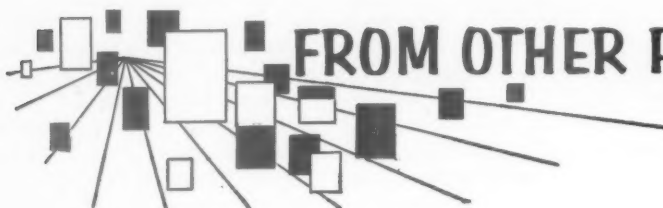
In Michigan labor has found that the Republican Party and its newspapers don't seem to understand that McKinley has been dead for a long time. They cling to phony issues and reactionary candidates. They want to go back to the days of McKinley and, more than anything else, they

want to "get unions out of politics."

Michigan trade unionists have not forgotten that every gain made by the plain people of this country since 1932 was bitterly opposed by this same old clique. Labor is not on the run. Labor is not on the defensive side of the fight for progress.

The Michigan State AFL-CIO and its affiliates will meet the challenge of labor's enemies. The campaign for social progress will be carried to the people and to the ballot box. Labor in Michigan is informing union members through its political education programs.

This writer is confident that next November's elections will give the real friends of labor in Michigan an overwhelming victory. And with that victory the "tax climate" can be corrected in the interests of all the people of our state and not of the few.



## FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

### A Necessary Move

From AFL-CIO News

The Administration decision to send American troops into Lebanon at the request of Lebanese President Camille Chamoun was a necessary move to preserve peace and freedom in the Middle East and to uphold the principles of the United Nations.

For two months the independent state of Lebanon has been torn by armed rebellion undoubtedly stimulated by inflammatory radio broadcasts from Cairo, Damascus and Moscow. Supplies and personnel have been infiltrated into Lebanon from outside the country. Lebanon's independence has been threatened by the forcible overthrow of the government of nearby Iraq.

The Administration, however, should stand ready after the cessation of the revolt to provide the necessary assistance for economic rehabilitation in Lebanon. At the same time long-needed programs for planned economic progress throughout the Middle East must be hastened in order to raise living standards throughout the region.

Congress, currently considering funds for the mutual security program, can dramatically demonstrate our concern with the Middle East situation by sharply stepping up aid for Lebanon and other countries in the area. A substantial economic aid program, coupled with America's de-

termination to preserve the peace in the Middle East, can halt the aggressive and demagogic policies of would-be dictators operating in the area with the benign approval of the Soviet Union.

Appeasement of dictators, whether they be in Moscow or Cairo, can only weaken the unity of the free world and lead to a sapping of democratic strength.

### A Personal Crisis

From The American Pressman

Few problems can worry and discourage a person as much as a period of unemployment. Loss of work can bring into the home all sorts of strains and stresses.

To the man without a job and to the family without a financial future, unemployment is not a statistic—it is a personal crisis.

At such a time it is extremely important that the unemployed union member knows that his union understands his situation, is concerned about him and is willing to exhaust every possible channel of action to meet his basic personal and family needs.

Because union members may be very dependent upon their union in this time of crisis, every union official should feel duty-bound to familiarize himself now with avenues of approach to municipal, county, state and federal aid, thereby equipping himself with the information his fellow members may desperately need.

### Taking Stock

From Railway Carmen's Journal

The present business situation is an indication that something is radically wrong with our way of life. We have been brought face to face with ugly reality, and we must take stock and do some hard thinking.

Our civilization has become too artificial, too technical, too mechanical. We have to return to the old-fashioned virtues of thrift, prudence, industry, neighborliness and common sense in order to make use of our human resources. Man should be the master of the machine, not the machine the master of man.

The present Administration has been kidding everybody with an "everything's rosy" attitude while keeping things secret that the American people have had every right to know inasmuch as they are the ones who pay the bill and put the government in through their votes.

Now there are big holes appearing in the rosy curtain showing the grim truth that "wait and see" before doing anything amounts practically to paralysis. The hollow-sounding, cheery words over the threatening domestic scene are becoming disgusting and ridiculous. Too much caution accomplishes nothing, gets exactly nowhere.

A thorough overhauling of all federal government functions is going to have to be done with a view to eliminating extravagance, waste, duplication and unessential services so that the poor taxpayer will have some knowledge and say about what becomes of the huge slice of his income given to the oh-so-secret federal government.

# PUBLIC EMPLOYEES ARE TURNING TO UNIONISM

By **ARNOLD S. ZANDER**  
*President, American Federation of  
State, County and Municipal Employees*

**T**HOUSANDS of public servants, the brains and brawn of the daily operations in our city, county and state governments, are today an integral part of the organized labor movement. Members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, they provide for your health, protection, pleasure and comfort.

Among them are:

▶The attendant who cares for the animals at the zoo.

▶The sanitation worker whose daily handling of trash and garbage is all-important to community health.

▶The conservation warden who enforces our game laws to assure the preservation of wild life.

▶The courthouse clerk who issues marriage licenses to prospective newlyweds.

▶The attendant at a mental institution entrusted with the delicate job of caring for patients on the road back to a normal life.

▶The clerk in the tax assessor's office who sees to it that we all pay our fair share of the taxes.

And also among our members are the thousands of other public employees whose jobs deal with such basic ingredients of our daily life as the water we drink and the air we breathe.

Because the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees deals with public officials, its problems are somewhat more complicated than those faced by AFL-CIO international unions in the areas of private employment.

Many local governments still operate under pre-Wagner Act conditions. They may restrict their employees' right to be represented by a union, to engage in political activity or collective bargaining and to take concerted action to enforce demands.



**ARNOLD S. ZANDER**

It should come as no surprise that politicians put in office through the "spoils system" are among our chief stumbling blocks, because they are not interested in seeing established a fair, democratic system of civil service, coupled with real employee representation. In many areas, company unions masquerading as "associations" of public employees are open-

ly supported by political machines.

Both the public and the public employees are hurt by this facet of bad government, the former by not receiving adequate services, the latter by being forced to work under sub-standard conditions. As a result, the union is forced to seek legislative remedies in addition to using direct action. This is a situation which all union members can help improve through sustained political action in their communities.

Another obstacle is the opposition to real collective bargaining on the part of organizations of public administrators. As long ago as 1941, when the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees was only five years old, the Municipal Law Officers Association circulated a report condemning public employee unionism. Like their colleagues in private industry, some employers in government are very jealous of their "right to manage."

Hostility, backed by laws and ordinances, has slowed the development of

**AFSCME members' jobs are exceedingly varied. They range from care of animals in zoos to issuing licenses to wed and computing tax bills.**



organization among public employees. This, combined with concerted opposition to decent appropriations for local governments, much of it generated by vested economic interests, has caused the wages and working conditions of public employees to lag far behind those prevailing in private employment.

Despite the obstacles, the AFSCME has been able to swell its membership and establish an ever-increasing number of negotiated agreements. In 1954 the union had 96,000 members. In 1956 about 27,000 men and women, some of them employed by private social agencies, joined our roster through a merger with our CIO counterpart, the Government and Civic Employees Organizing Committee. It was one of the first international union mergers to be completed under the AFL-CIO banner.

At present the AFSCME is almost 200,000 strong, with locals in forty-seven states, Canada and the Canal Zone.

This recent expansion has resulted from carefully planned target projects in particular areas. With close teamwork among the international union, its councils and locals and the AFL-CIO Department of Organization, the AFSCME has been able to undertake membership drives in Michigan, Min-



Women make up a large part of the union's membership.

nesota, Montana, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Washington, Louisiana, Nebraska and Indiana.

Our international furnishes the advisers and underwrites expenses for

the first months of the campaigns, with an organizing committee composed of local leaders functioning as a coordinating body.

Much can be accomplished in this

Democratic processes are followed in deciding policies. Seen here is a show of hands at this year's convention.



way. For example, in one large state institution in Michigan, the AFSCME signed up more than half the staff in one week. A ten-man organizing committee contacted every prospective member, either as he left work or at home.

**H**AVING recognized the vast membership potential in the area of public employment, the AFL-CIO Department of Organization has provided us with assistance that has played a key role in our successes.

Organizing gains have paid off for the new members. Within weeks of joining Local 852, for example, city employes at Glendive, Montana, won a forty-hour week, replacing the previous forty-eight-hour week, with no loss in pay. Many of these workers had put in hours of overtime at straight-time pay, but under the decision by the Glendive City Council they will now get time and one-half after eight hours a day or forty hours a week.

They also won six paid holidays, where no holidays had been paid before. A grievance procedure has been instituted for the first time, and the city fathers are studying the union's demand for a fifteen-cent hourly pay increase.

Employees of one state training school have negotiated a contract boosting minimum starting wages by 60 per cent. They also won a union shop. In Pennsylvania, state employes have secured a grievance procedure for the first time. The AFSCME was instrumental in winning thirteen paid holidays for employes of the Indiana State Highway Department through legislative action. There are hundreds of other examples of the benefits reaped through organizing.

While many of these benefits are still obtained by methods short of true collective bargaining, the trend is toward negotiated contracts and working agreements between the union and public officials. An outstanding case of healthy labor-management relations in public employment is the city of Philadelphia, where the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employes has been recognized as exclusive bargaining agent in departments employing about 15,000 people.

The outlook for the AFSCME in the years ahead is favorable. As our population continues to expand into

the suburbs and into what was only yesterday the country, local governments must continually expand their services and hire new workers. Experts have predicted that, by the end of the Twentieth Century, the entire area between Boston and Virginia will be virtually one continuous city. Think of the number of people who would be needed to handle the sanitation, traffic and health problems in such a metropolis!

Industry, too, is decentralizing, thus making new demands on local communities. Even recessions don't halt the trend toward a bigger work force in state and local government. Such services as unemployment compensation, public assistance and public works are usually broadened during periods of economic difficulty.

Despite our progress to date, we realize that our work in an area with a potential of two million workers is just beginning.

The AFSCME had only 5,000 members when it was chartered by the

American Federation of Labor in 1936. The union emerged from small, isolated groups of public employes who met during the depths of the depression in order to improve their abysmally poor working conditions. A number of these groups received federal charters from the A. F. of L.

For a brief period before becoming a separate international union the AFSCME functioned as a division of the American Federation of Government Employees.

From 1936 until last year the AFSCME made its headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin, the home of the active Wisconsin State Employes Council which helped found the union. Immediately after the AFSCME-GCEOC merger, the enlarged international executive board voted to move the headquarters to Washington.

The move to the nation's capital, where the AFSCME now occupies the former Machinists Building, was completed in May of last year.

## We Must Be More Active

By PHIL HANNAH

*Executive Vice-President,  
Ohio AFL-CIO*

**T**HE labor movement had to fight hard for many years to secure the economic and social advantages which are enjoyed today by the working people of the United States. Our movement has advanced the welfare of the millions who toil to produce the wealth that shelters our democracy. Despite all the good which labor has done over the years, there are those who seek to destroy us.

Labor must be constantly on the alert to the pitfalls contrived by those who hold the movement in disdain. The individual trade unionist must pursue very actively every honorable means at his command to further the goals of the movement.

We must not allow ourselves to become complacent. It is natural to take pride in the successes we have enjoyed in improving our wages, our working conditions and our stature within the community. Although these achievements warrant a feeling of gratification, it could prove catastrophic if we allowed ourselves to become self-satisfied or too sure of our-

selves. Such a feeling can only lead to painful experiences.

Trade unionists must be continually mindful that no gain, no wage increase, no right is so sacred that it cannot be taken away from us if we are not alert. The Stalins, the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, the Perons and other despots have proved that.

Whenever we lose faith, whenever we become too lazy or too indifferent to fight for what we have and to strive for further advancement, we stand to lose what many wage-earners in the past have sacrificed much for.

It is our philosophy to seek continually to better our way of life. To achieve that end, we who are trade unionists must accept more responsibility within our unions and must become more active in the affairs of the labor movement.

This time of danger is a good time for us to resolve firmly to become better citizens and better trade unionists by recognizing our everlasting need of militancy in the dispatching of all our responsibilities.

# MOVIE OPERATORS' FIVE DECADES

By **RICHARD F. WALSH**  
*President, International Alliance  
of Theatrical Stage Employees  
and Moving Picture Machine Operators*

**I**N AN organization like our Alliance, which started with a handful of local unions in 1893 and has been chartering new ones rather steadily ever since—until we now have almost a thousand—a lot of significant anniversaries are celebrated every year. In any mail, the president may get an invitation to help observe a tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth or even sixtieth anniversary (not to mention the ones that fall between).

Our oldest locals are those of Stage Employees, who are still going strong after surviving countless predictions of the death of their branch of the entertainment industry.

Our younger locals represent the spread of unionism among boxoffice people, doormen, ushers, wardrobe attendants, film exchange employees and numerous specialized movie production crafts throughout the United States and Canada.

Our many members in television are divided between the old, established locals and a newer Radio and Television Department.

The Alliance's largest segment, the locals of Moving Picture Machine Operators, got started when the international was fifteen years old, and this year the first Operators' locals are celebrating their fiftieth anniversaries. Their story, I think, aptly illustrates some of the greatest values of the American labor movement—not alone for union members but also for employers and the community at large.

The first of the locals of Operators, No. 143, St. Louis, and No. 150, Los Angeles, received their charters from International President John J. Barry on July 16, 1908. They were followed that year by Local 154 in Seattle, Local 159 in Portland, Ore-



**RICHARD F. WALSH**

gon, and Local 160 in Cleveland.

In a number of other cities, too, the projectionists were organized, but their units were set up as auxiliaries of our locals of Stage Employees. The groups in St. Louis, Los Angeles, Seattle, Portland and Cleveland were the first to seek and obtain autonomous status.

In 1908 the question whether to try to go it alone was a big, tough one for projectionists everywhere as they assembled in small huddles at all-night restaurants. The locals of the stagehands represented stability—to the extent that there was any in those days. The stagehands had obtained a measure of recognition from the employers and were beginning to improve wages and working conditions. Affiliation with them would constitute membership in a haven of growing power.

But, human nature being what it is, many stagehands looked upon the nickelodeons as a fad which would quickly pass. They were willing to

become big brothers and help these new little brothers with their problems, but they could not take them very seriously. Sometimes they gave them extra jobs as spotlight operators, figuring that would be a stable craft they might work into as time went on.

Time, of course, had other plans. The nickelodeons multiplied. Feature-length films appeared, barnstorming successfully across the land. Soon pictures were supplementing the traditional acts in the vaudeville houses and were on the way toward sounding the death knell of that art. Some of the older stage employees scratched their heads in bewilderment as more and more legitimate theaters were converted into movie palaces.

At that point it became little brother's turn to pay big brother back for his early help. Many a stage carpenter, electrician and propertyman, struggling to hang on to a place in this shifting entertainment world, was trained and given a job as a projectionist and admitted to the local Moving Picture Machine Operators in his home town.

**I**N some of the smaller towns, as the ranks of the Stage Employees dwindled, the IATSE General Office found it necessary to combine the two groups into what became known as "mixed" locals, and hundreds more of that type were established down through the years in previously unorganized places. Thus, via the medium of the labor movement, a large number of older workers who otherwise might not have weathered technological change were enabled to do so.

Today, to some extent, the pendulum has swung once again in the op-

posite direction. The locals of Stage Employees which survive in the larger cities often find jobs more plentiful than do the Operators.

Legitimate theater attendance has stood up better than movie attendance in the face of television competition. Moreover, there is much work for carpenters, electricians and propertymen in the TV studios, and the rise of industrial shows has furnished another good source of new employment.

As a result, quite a few former projectionists, having pulled up stakes to go where the work is, now are busy under the jurisdiction of Stage Employees' locals.

Although the number of film theaters throughout the United States and Canada has dropped off sharply in recent years, locals of Operators and the mixed locals are riding out the storm fairly well. This is partly because they were quite conservative about increasing membership during the lush Forties and early Fifties. They realized that the industry had grown too fast, that many a deteriorating neighborhood was overbuilt with movie houses and that the rising competition of the drive-in theaters would do more to spread work throughout the year than to maintain the top total of jobs.

Accordingly, to fill assignments during the boom, they did a good deal of doubling up over long hours and also called upon semi-retired



Earl Hamilton, a union pioneer, at work in Los Angeles theater in 1908.

members and other assistance of a temporary nature. Thus, when the bubble burst, the ranks of the Operators were not overloaded.

Even so, here and there it has now become necessary to divide the decreased work on the basis of shortened hours. However, no alarming pinch has yet been felt. We are hopeful that none will be.

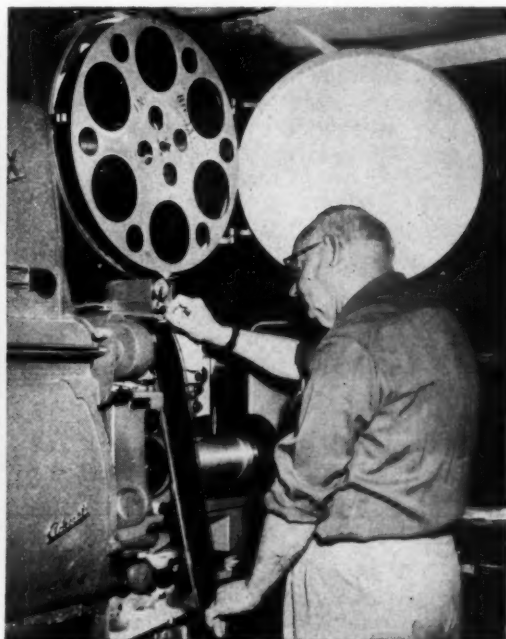
Our hope springs from the healthy resurgence the motion picture theaters have shown at several times since

the growth of television began. Fortunately, the present is such a time. Our projectionists, along with other IATSE craftsmen, feel they have had more than a little to do with this resurgence.

Just as during the late Twenties they learned in a hurry to handle the new talking pictures, so during the Fifties they have taken another big technological revolution in stride. First step was to meet the special demands of three-dimensional films



Time has brought many changes. Photo above is of a 1922 projection booth. Picture at right shows Frank Grauman, a Seattle member, threading a Todd-AO projector in 1958.



which, though short-lived, shook the industry out of a long, complacent nap. Since then, in many places, they have met the special demands of numerous wide-screen processes—including Cinerama, Todd-AO, Cinemiracle and, almost everywhere, CinemaScope.

They have struggled winningly with attendant problems of focus, screen brightness and stereophonic sound.

All in all, they have become custodians of the new excitement which characterizes movie-going today.

**T**ODAY'S versatile, highly trained specialists still can take off their hats to the pioneers of 1908. The nickelodeon projection rooms (or boxes, as they were called) either hung from the ceiling or protruded from a wall. Made of galvanized iron, they got plenty hot.

The system of changing over from one projector to another to run a continuous show had not yet been worked out. Some of the machines had no magazines or take-ups; the film simply ran off the top spindle, through the intermittent sprocket and into a sack. As a new reel was started, it ran into the same sack.

While the reel before it was being rewound by the operator's right arm, the picture was being cranked by his left. When the rewinding was finished, the hand thus freed could turn to patching torn film, of which there was plenty.

During that period the operator would pick up his theater's program from the film exchange, put up the

posters before the show, take them down afterward and then return the film. Sometimes, too, he swept out the theater. He worked ten hours a day, seven days a week, and his weekly pay was often as low as \$10.

Today, under the IATSE system of local autonomy, the rates of projectionists' pay vary rather widely in different parts of the country and in localities and houses of different sizes. However, most of the scales are pretty attractive. Although the five-day week is still the exception rather than the rule, the average number of hours worked per day is, accordingly, small.

Our Operators' and mixed locals, down through the years, have made their progress without recourse to many costly strikes. Today, scattered across the country, pickets are to be found at a few theaters, but these generally are exceptional cases, with the locals protesting against non-unionism or seeking to maintain manpower.

The manpower question—whether or not there should be one or two men in a booth—is handled, like virtually all other IATSE questions, on the basis of local autonomy.

The development of slow-burning "safety" film has prompted the repeal, in many areas, of government regulations which used to forbid a projectionist's working alone. Our locals, however, have always taken the position that, because of the many different and intricate operations there are to perform while running a picture, it is difficult and often quite impossible for an unassisted

man to man to put on a perfect show. The de luxe theaters in the big cities bear this out by having three, four and sometimes five projectionists on duty at a single time.

A sizable number of our Operators' and mixed locals are justly proud of the fact that their geographical jurisdictions are 100 per cent union. This is a great advantage to the employers as well as to us. It has eliminated the cutthroat competition which substandard pay scales used to make possible. Also it has taken a big load off the mind of many an exhibitor.

If a projectionist quits or gets sick, the boss knows where to turn for a substitute. Part-time relief men and vacation replacements are easily obtained. And when new techniques come along, the local union can be depended upon to take over a good share of the training problem.

**T**HE average projectionist, although isolated in a booth when on the job, is a friendly fellow, well known in his community and often quite active in the labor movement and in political and civic affairs.

The IATSE is relatively small, but from the ranks of our operators have come the current presidents of more than a dozen city central bodies of the AFL-CIO as well as the presidents of two state labor federations in the U.S. and one provincial labor congress in Canada.

Quite often, too, members of this group are elected or appointed to state or municipal office, while others take leading roles in charity drives, Boy Scout work and the like.

Hobby-wise, hundreds of projectionists have become amateur radio operators. They love to sit at their rigs and swap experiences with one another, all over the country, after the last show is run at night. And, using mobile equipment, they even chat while driving to and from work. Some of these "hams" are active in civil defense and have come through handsomely in times of emergency.

What the second fifty years will hold for the Moving Picture Machine Operators is something only time can tell. I firmly believe their place in the entertainment world, like that of the Stage Employees, will be an enduring and substantial one.

And if they live up to the traditions of the first fifty years, I know their place in the hearts of their fellow men likewise will be secure.

President Walsh (first man at left) and the IATSE's delegation at the last AFL-CIO conclave. He is a vice-president of the AFL-CIO.



## IOWA'S EXPERIENCE

# 'Work' Law Has Been Ruinous

By RAY MILLS

President, Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO

**M**ORE than ten years ago the working people of Iowa were shackled by our Legislature with a so-called "right to work" law.

When the anti-union bill was before the Legislature, the AFL and CIO state organizations, along with city central bodies and local unions throughout Iowa, worked tirelessly to keep the nefarious, misnamed measure from becoming law. Unfortunately, the energetic efforts of the labor movement were in vain.

The lawmakers chose to listen to labor's foes, whose big sales pitch at that time was that this kind of unfair legislation was needed in order to bring new industry to the towns of agricultural Iowa.

It is interesting to measure what actually happened against what was promised by those opposed to effective unionism. Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas are all states in our region. They do not have so-called "right to work" laws. Notwithstanding the propaganda of the "right to work" advocates, these five states have acquired a much higher percentage of new industry than Iowa.

Nebraska and South Dakota, which border Iowa on the west, are "work" states. The record shows that these three—Iowa, Nebraska and South Dakota—have received a lower percentage of new industry in the last ten years than any other states in the Western three-fourths of the United States.

What have the years of "wreck" legislation done to wages and working conditions in Iowa? Has time shown that the anti-labor forces were speaking the truth when they said, more than a decade ago, that the purpose of the "right to work" bill was not to hold wages down but to "stabilize industry and labor"?



RAY MILLS

"Work" legislation in Iowa has indeed "stabilized" the wage-earner—to the tune of at least \$300 a year below average national wages. Pay and working conditions have fallen behind. And during the last five years Iowa has lost population, while most states have been increasing in population by leaps and bounds.

It is no secret that a large majority of those leaving Iowa have moved away to seek employment in states where the pay and the working conditions are better. Population losses have also been suffered by our neighbor states with "work" laws—Nebraska and the Dakotas—while Minnesota, Wisconsin, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas, which do not have this repulsive legislation, have enjoyed marked increases in population.

The saccharine phrases of the proponents of anti-labor legislation and their hypocritical assurances that their sole desire was to "help the poor working man" have a pretty hollow sound for Iowa wage-earners. Events have shown that the anti-labor forces

were not really interested in helping anyone but unfair employers.

It is a bit astonishing, however, that even at this late date there are still some Iowans who think "right to work" guarantees them a job. Late last year, as mayor of Des Moines, I received calls and letters from the wives of workers who had been laid off or fired. These ladies were indignant. They had thought loss of a job impossible in any state with a "right to work" law.

Since Iowa's "wreck" law went into effect, many of our local unions have ceased to exist. Most of the organizations that have vanished were in places where workers needed union protection the most—where the wages were exceedingly low.

**T**wo years ago the merger of the former AFL and CIO state bodies in Iowa was completed. At this writing every city central body in the state has merged or agreed to merge.

The state merger convention authorized the Iowa Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, to have three full-time officers—president, secretary-treasurer and executive vice-president—and a full-time educational director. The executive board comprises fourteen members.

Since 1956 the merged federation's executive vice-president, Jack McCoy, has been the full-time COPE director. In cooperation with other executive officers, he carries out our COPE activities. Brother McCoy, who is from Ottumwa and a member of the Packinghouse Workers, is a member of the Iowa House of Representatives from Wapello County.

Under his direction, and with the cooperation of executive board members, city central bodies, COPE committees, women's groups and farm groups, labor is expecting much bet-

ter results on Election Day than in past years. With a lot of hard work we hope to give Iowa two-party representation when Congress convenes next January. This applies to the House of Representatives only, since the terms of our U.S. Senators are not expiring. Both incumbents are unfriendly to organized labor.

Taxes are a hot issue in Iowa. Two years ago Democratic Governor Loveless defeated Republican Governor Hoegh. Governor Loveless in his campaign had called for a reduction of the state sales tax from 2½ per cent to 2 per cent. His stand appealed to many voters, and through the efforts of farm people, merchants and organized labor this predominantly Republican state, for the first time in twenty years, elected a Democratic governor.

In his inaugural address Governor Loveless urged the Legislature to repeal "right to work." The Republican-controlled House and Senate refused to heed this recommendation. Near the end of the session the Legislature voted to boost the sales tax to 3 per cent. At the urging of labor and many others, including small merchants, Governor Loveless vetoed this sales tax increase bill.

The showdown will come next November. Governor Loveless supports the present 2 per cent sales tax. He says no increase is needed. On the other side is a newcomer in Republican politics, a professor from the State Agricultural College, who is campaigning for a 3 per cent tax.

The members of organized labor expect to be all-out for the reelection of Loveless. He has demonstrated that he is a real friend of labor.

The trend among the farmers in this traditionally Republican state has been to the Democratic Party since 1954. The Democratic organization has been working more harmoniously, while the Republican organization is in a sad state. We in labor, along with the farmers and small business people, hope to see Iowa become a genuine two-party state again.

Labor is seriously handicapped by the unwillingness of the Legislature to carry out a fair reapportionment. Half the population of Iowa lives in twenty-one counties out of ninety-nine where we have central bodies. Yet if we were successful in electing every member to the State House of Representatives from those twenty-one counties, they would number only twenty-nine out of a total of 108 House members. That leaves seventy-nine members from rural areas, where traditionally labor has very little influence.

The trade unionists of Iowa feel that the only hope of repealing the "right to work" law lies in effective political education. The Republicans who have been in complete control of the Iowa House and Senate have failed the workers.

They have insisted on keeping the misnamed "right to work" law and they have refused to correct the inequities in other legislation affecting the wage-earners of the state.

In recent years Iowans have been electing more Democrats and liberal Republicans than before. In the 1956 elections thirteen Democratic Senators out of fifty and thirty-six Democratic House members out of 108 were chosen. Four years earlier the Legislature had four Democratic and forty-six Republican Senators and three Democratic and 105 Republican House members.

The Republican and Democratic state platforms in 1952 contained "work" law repeal planks. The Republicans were all-powerful, for they had a total of 151 legislators in the two chambers while the Democrats had only seven. The Republicans refused to let the repealer come out of committee.

This disregard of a platform pledge made Iowa's organized workers skeptical. And they will continue to be skeptical until they see some genuine action on the part of the Republican lawmakers who are in the saddle.

**T**HE secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO state body comes from Keokuk. He is a member of the Grain Millers. Secretary-Treasurer Earl J. Baum devotes full time to a large number of duties, including affiliations and COPE. This year he had charge of the Labor Short Course held at the University of Iowa. Forty-seven rank-and-file working people took the one-week course.

This was started several years ago by John Cosgrove, now in Washington as assistant director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Education.

The Iowa Federation of Labor annually sponsors a scholarship award contest in cooperation with local central bodies. The contest is open to senior students in both public and parochial high schools. This year's winner was William McComb of Clinton.

The Iowa Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the Clinton Labor Congress, presented the award at a banquet on June 16. More than 100 labor, city and school officials were present. Secretary-Treasurer Baum had charge of this year's scholarship program.

This is just one of the ways we in the Iowa labor movement try to promote a better understanding of labor on the part of all the citizens of our state. We recognize the important place of good public relations if the labor movement is to prosper.

Winner of Iowa labor's scholarship award this year was William McComb (left) of Clinton. Carol Johnson took second place on the local level. The fellow with the big smile behind Ray Mills is Secretary Earl Baum.



# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

▶The AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department has asked Congress to enact legislation "to establish a sound program of housing for the hundreds of thousands of the nation's migratory workers and their families." At the same time Albert Whitehouse, director of IUD, recommended certain improvements in the Rogers bill.

▶Clyde Bell, past president of the California State Council of Plasterers and Cement Masons, has been named Commissioner of Labor in California by Governor Goodwin J. Knight. At the time of his appointment Mr. Bell was business agent for Local 295 of the Plasterers in Sacramento.

▶Murray Weinstein, one of the founders of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and a vice-president of the union, died in New York City last month at the age of 67. He joined his first union in 1913. He had retired recently as business manager of Local 4.

▶The Michigan Federation of Typographical Unions will be headed again by K. A. Hull, president of Local 18, Detroit. He was reelected at the group's fifty-first annual convention. Edgar Crum of Lansing was reelected as secretary.

▶Local 38, Butcher Workmen, has organized the Cold Fur Storage Company in Detroit and negotiated a contract which provides higher wages, six paid holidays, the union shop, insurance coverage and dues checkoff.

▶An increase in hourly pay and other advances have terminated a strike by Local 500 of the Plumbers at Olean, N. Y. The workers had walked off their jobs upon the expiration of their old contract.

▶Local 55 of the Painters, Reading, Pa., has obtained assurances from state officials that the prevailing union wage will be paid for work on ten bridges in Berks County.

▶The New York City ladies' auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car



**MRS. MARY M. POTTER**, a secretary in the AFL-CIO Department of Public Relations, receives a gold watch from Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler upon her retirement after more than thirty years of faithful service to the labor movement. Looking on are Albert J. Zack, director of the Department, and Mrs. Potter's granddaughter, Kathleen.

Porters is planning a fashion show in the fall. A feature of the event, it is expected, will be the crowning of "Mrs. Pullman Porter."

▶Only two days were required to settle a strike of Local 225, Brewery Workers, against the D. G. Yuengling Brewery in Pottsville, Pa. The new two-year contract provides a \$3 weekly increase the first year and \$2 more during the second year.

▶Five scholarships of \$200 each have been awarded by Local 1645 of the United Auto Workers, Torrington, Conn. One boy and four girls were the winners. The city's mayor was a member of the three-man committee which made the selections.

▶Work has begun on a new \$250,000 headquarters building of the Detroit Federation of Musicians. The union has 5,000 members. The structure will provide a total of 8,000 square feet of floor space.

▶A certificate of meritorious service has been presented to Earl W. Burnette, business manager of Local 175,

International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Chattanooga, Tenn. The certificate was awarded to him by the U.S. Department of Labor.

▶Robert Holifield was elected recently to the presidency of the Central Labor Union at Durham, N. C.



**Arthur J. Goldberg**, AFL-CIO's special counsel, has become a Fund for the Republic director.

# How Important Is Production?

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY. By John K. Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin. \$5.

Reviewed by  
**PETER HENLE**

**T**HIS volume is another bright, sparkling effort from the learned pen of this Harvard economist. In the few short weeks following its publication, it has already become the most talked-about book in its field for 1958. Because its impact will be felt in the legislative and political arenas, union officials will want to become acquainted with it.

Its theme is new and important. In effect, Galbraith is questioning the traditional "American dream" of a constantly higher level of production. He is casting doubt on the typical American insistence on greater and greater production.

To him, this American drive for greater production was the natural development of a bygone period when poverty was almost universal. Then it was obviously important for the American economy to strive for ever greater production as well as its accompanying high level of employment and income. At that time the important job for the economy was to erase or reduce as quickly as possible the widespread poverty throughout the nation.

Today's economy, however, Galbraith contends, is different. In effect it is "the affluent society." Poverty has been sharply reduced, according to the author, and is found only in isolated sections of American society.

Under these circumstances he questions the continued importance of ever greater production. He points out that most of the emphasis in today's economy involves greater production in the private sector of the economy, neglecting many areas of public spending such as schools, hospitals and slum clearance.

Galbraith is at his best in pointing out how the acquisitive instinct has produced an actual scarcity of some of society's most prized possessions—education, good health and proper housing. He is sharp and witty as he

examines the drive for ever greater output, the various advertising techniques that are required to develop the mass production market and the questionable debt practices that have allowed so many consumers to "keep up with the Joneses."

For Galbraith the answer to this dilemma is to reverse what he calls "the social balance" by putting a greater emphasis on government services, financed if necessary by higher taxes, including heavier sales taxes on state and local levels. He recognizes that less emphasis on production may lead to greater unemployment, but he is willing to accept a modest increase in idleness if unemployed workers receive a substantially higher level of unemployment benefits.

**B**y following this prescription, the economy, according to Galbraith, can meet its greatest need—more public services—without intensifying the inflationary factors in the economy. However, if inflationary forces cannot be checked, he would favor adopting a set of wage and price controls, at least for those industries which are characterized by administered price systems and national collective bargaining.

This is an immensely readable book which makes a definite contribution to understanding today's economic issues. Readers from the ranks of labor will particularly appreciate Galbraith's main argument that our economy has developed a surplus of gadget-loaded products at the expense of needed public services.

While agreeing with many of the points made in the book, it is not necessary to buy all the trimmings which the author includes with his thesis. For example, while it may be true that Americans have too readily exalted mere production for the sake of production, nevertheless the production process (and in particular the employment process that goes with it) is still vital to the American economy.

By and large, Americans like to

work and their job becomes the most important feature of their lives. Even a relatively high level of unemployment benefits will not be accepted as a substitute for useful work. One important test of our economy must continue to be: To what extent does it furnish useful employment opportunities for all those seeking work?

Moreover, Galbraith is a little too slick in disposing of the problem of poverty. Of course, the average income per family has risen substantially in recent years, but there are still many sections of the economy where hard-working individuals, despite their best efforts, do not earn more than \$1 or \$1.50 an hour. In very real terms, this is poverty which would be hurt by Galbraith's sales taxes and which cannot be ended without increasing production and income.

Then, too, there creeps into the book what might be called an element of just plain snobbery. To Galbraith there seems to be something offensive about an individual working with his hands. His emphasis is on the "New Class," the college-educated white-collar technicians for whom work is "enjoyable" and who are far less interested in compensation than manual workers. In fact, Galbraith puts the "rapid expansion" of this group as "a major and perhaps \* \* \* the major social goal of the society."

But is this a true evaluation of work? Doesn't, for example, a skilled manual worker find his job just as "enjoyable" as the technician, and

isn't the white-collar worker just as interested in compensation? Granting the importance of eliminating particularly arduous jobs, is it so important to society that all man-

ner of toil be dispensed with? Would a contemplative society, which Galbraith seems to advocate, meet the needs of ordinary mortals?

These are a few questions which readers of this book may find themselves raising, but they do not detract from the validity of the author's main thesis, that America's greatest need today is not more production but more public services.



# Investment in People Is the Key

**HUMAN RESOURCES: THE WEALTH OF A NATION.** By Eli Ginzberg. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

Reviewed by  
**BORIS SHISHKIN**

**T**HE REAL wealth of a nation is in its people. This simple truth seems self-evident. Yet its affirmation is novel and almost revolutionary in modern economics. It is all the more startling when made by an eminent academic economist. And even more so when it is shown by him to be derived directly from the studies of none other than Adam Smith.

Non-technical and highly readable, Professor Ginzberg's book is written with zest, vigor and warmth. It is the work of a scholar, but of one who has a deep feeling for the men and women of whom the community and the nation are made up. It is the work of a student, but of one who is willing and even eager to come to grips with the issues of the day.

Always a pathseeker and often a pathfinder, Eli Ginzberg is once again ahead of his time. In this book he brings into sharp focus the

problems which underlie the anxieties and doubts that swept Americans as they found themselves plunging headlong into the atomic age.

The book is both timely and important because it comes to grips with America's present-day challenge.

What can we do to assure for our children the opportunity to become responsible, competent and productive members of the community, to make their full contribution to the wealth and progress of our nation?

What can we do to make wider and fuller use of the capacities and skills of older workers, women workers and minority workers who are today so often disadvantaged in access of suitable employment?

Towering above a complex of other things that need and should be done is the crucial answer to these questions: More and better education and training.

But this costs money. And today not enough money is being allocated to train and educate people for better, more productive, more dynamic citizenship.

And the burden of Professor Ginzberg's book is that the real key to America's future well-being and

growth is investment in people. As he puts it:

"Only men and women can develop the ideas that serve as the foundations for scientific and technological progress; only men and women—even in an age of giant computers—can manage organizations; only men and women can operate and repair the new automatic machines which produce the goods we desire; only men and women can provide services to the young and old, to the sick and well, to those seeking education or recreation. Only men and women, not financial grants or ballistic missiles, determine the strength of a government.

"It should be clear that our economic progress, as well as our social and political well-being, depend, in Adam Smith's words, on the 'skill, dexterity and judgment' of our men and women. A wise society will invest liberally in its people in order to accelerate its economic expansion and strengthen its national security. But it will also do so because, in helping each citizen to realize his maximum potentialities, it contributes to the well-being of all."

With this we heartily agree.

## School for Workers

(Continued from Page 18)

support despite changes in administrations and in the Legislature.

The State Federation of Labor initiated the request for the school. After the split the State CIO supported it just as warmly. There is every prospect that the merged Wisconsin labor movement will continue the same enthusiastic backing.

The main guiding principles of the School for Workers are few. Simply stated, they are: (1) The university shall extend services to adult groups. (2) Workers are entitled to educational services based on their real needs. (3) Long-run industrial relations harmony is best achieved through making available to labor union members and officers all possible information and training. (4) Labor education is more efficient and constructive when classes are reserved exclusively for labor.

Rapidly growing labor education programs in other universities tend to follow these basic principles, even though administrative structures vary greatly from school to school.

The demand for workers' education is growing more rapidly than the demand for general university education. The recent rapid growth of unions' own educational programs is stimulating a demand for labor education with which the combined resources of both unions and universities cannot keep up.

Recent developments on the government-labor front are creating new needs for increased labor education. In the collective bargaining field the recent growth of fringe benefits has opened up vast needs for increased union staff training.

In the last two years the University of Wisconsin School for Workers has

held union staff institutes in these specialized areas: health and welfare, the law of collective bargaining, time study and job evaluation. Gradual expansion in all these areas is anticipated.

No discussion of the School for Workers should omit the contributions by certain pioneers in both unions and the university.

Among unionists the name of Henry J. Ohl, president of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, 1917-1940, stands out because of his role in its origin.

In the University of Wisconsin, besides those already mentioned, the two directors of the School for Workers in the formative period, Alice Shoemaker, 1928-1936, and Ernest E. Schwartztrauber, 1937-1950, must be cited for their vision and inspiration.

The names of dozens of others, in both unions and the university faculty, must regrettably be omitted for lack of space.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Dwight D. Eisenhower**—I am well aware the landing of United States



troops in Lebanon could have some serious consequences. That is why this step was taken only after the most serious consideration and broad consultation. I have, however, come to the sober and clear conclusion that the action was essential to the welfare of the United States. It was required to support the principles of justice and international law upon which peace and a stable international order depend.

That, and that alone, is the purpose of the United States. We are not actuated by any hope of material gain or by any emotional hostility against any person or any government. Our dedication is to the principles of the United Nations Charter and to the preservation of the independence of every state. That is the basic pledge of the United Nations.

Yet indirect aggression and violence are being promoted in the Near East in clear violation of the provisions of the Charter.

There can be no peace in the world unless there is fuller dedication to the basic principles of that great document. If ever the United States fails to support these principles, the result would be to open the floodgates to direct and indirect aggression throughout the world.

**Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers**—We have



stated repeatedly that we do not want any wage increase or any other economic gain that will cause higher prices, and the union has proposed that if there is any demand that the corporations claim would require a price increase, we will submit such

demand to a panel of impartial arbitrators for a final and binding decision. The corporations have refused arbitration because they are unwilling to test the merits of their arguments against the merits of the union's position in a court of impartial judgment.

The UAW was born out of the common needs, the common hopes and the common aspirations of the workers employed in the industries under our jurisdiction. We have moved steadily forward.

As we stood together in the family of the UAW with teamwork in the leadership and solidarity in our ranks, we met management's challenge in the past. Together we shall meet the present challenge and win through again.

**A. Philip Randolph, president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters**



—The only way by which Negroes and labor can get politicians, Republican or Democratic, to respond favorably to their demands is to develop and keep the political propaganda pressure on them. This is the only language the politicians can understand. It is a matter of historical record that politicians will not move in behalf of worthy and just causes unless the people move them, and the people cannot move them without the use of the ballot or the threat of the use of the ballot to put them out or in public office.

Today organized labor has its back to the wall and is fighting for its life. It realizes that a basic method for survival is to make use of the ballot on a big scale. By the same token, the Negro today has his back against the wall and he, too, must fight for survival. To this end, he must make use of the instrumentality of his suffrage.

But in order that Negroes may develop the moral and social dynamism necessary successfully to grapple with this crisis of the civil rights

revolution, they must have a rebaptism in the strong waters of a fighting faith for freedom.

There must be a rebirth of hope and a burning passion for the status of free men. There must come a rededication and reconsecration of the Negroes' life and labor beyond the call of duty, to struggle, to sacrifice and to suffer for freedom, equality, human dignity and a better tomorrow.

**George M. Rhodes, Congressman from Pennsylvania**—The Eisenhower



Administration is most vulnerable on its fiscal and economic policies. The recession has resulted in much distress and suffering. Administration curtailment policies, hard money, high interest and high prices have taken billions of dollars from the people each year to benefit big financial and monopoly interests. The public is naturally aroused by the Administration's double standard of morality. But it would be most unfortunate if the corruption issue would again distract public attention from the economic policies of the Administration and from the moral and intellectual dishonesty that hides the facts and the truth from the people.

The Adams case will become a campaign issue, but it is far more important for voters to understand the difference between conservative "trickle down" economic theories and liberal economic expansion policies.

**George Riley, AFL-CIO legislative representative**—The defense of our



nation in this nuclear age must of necessity be placed in two categories—military and non-military. It may be said that this is traditional. The military and non-military defense of the United States must be considered as a joint responsibility, a partnership, if our common defense as provided by the Constitution is to be forged into the deterrent force necessary to maintain a lasting peace.